Gitwangak Village Life
A Museum Collection

Joanne MacDonald

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Cover: Chief Hlengwah (Jim Laganitz) of Gitwangak, a 1926 painting by the Canadian artist Edwin Holgate. Marius Barbeau encouraged a number of young artists, including Holgate, A.Y. Jackson, Anne Savage and W. Langdon Kihn, to accompany him to the West Coast to paint the wealth of subjects there. (By permission of Mrs. Frances Holgate; location of original painting unknown; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 68139.)

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Studies in Archaeology
Architecture and History

National Historic Parks and Sites Branch
Parks Canada
Environment Canada
1984

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Available in Canada through authorized bookstore agents and other bookstores, or by mail from the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, Hull, Quebec, Canada K1A 0S9.

Price Canada: $5.25
Price other countries: $6.30
Price subject to change without notice.

Catalogue No.: R61-2/9-13E
ISBN: 0-660-11554-9
ISSN: 0821-1027

Published under the authority
of the Minister of the Environment,
Ottawa, 1984.

Editing and design: Jean Brathwaite

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and not necessarily those of Environment Canada.

Parks Canada publishes the results of its research in archaeology, architecture and history. A list of titles is available from Research Publications, Parks Canada, 1600 Liverpool Court, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 1G2.

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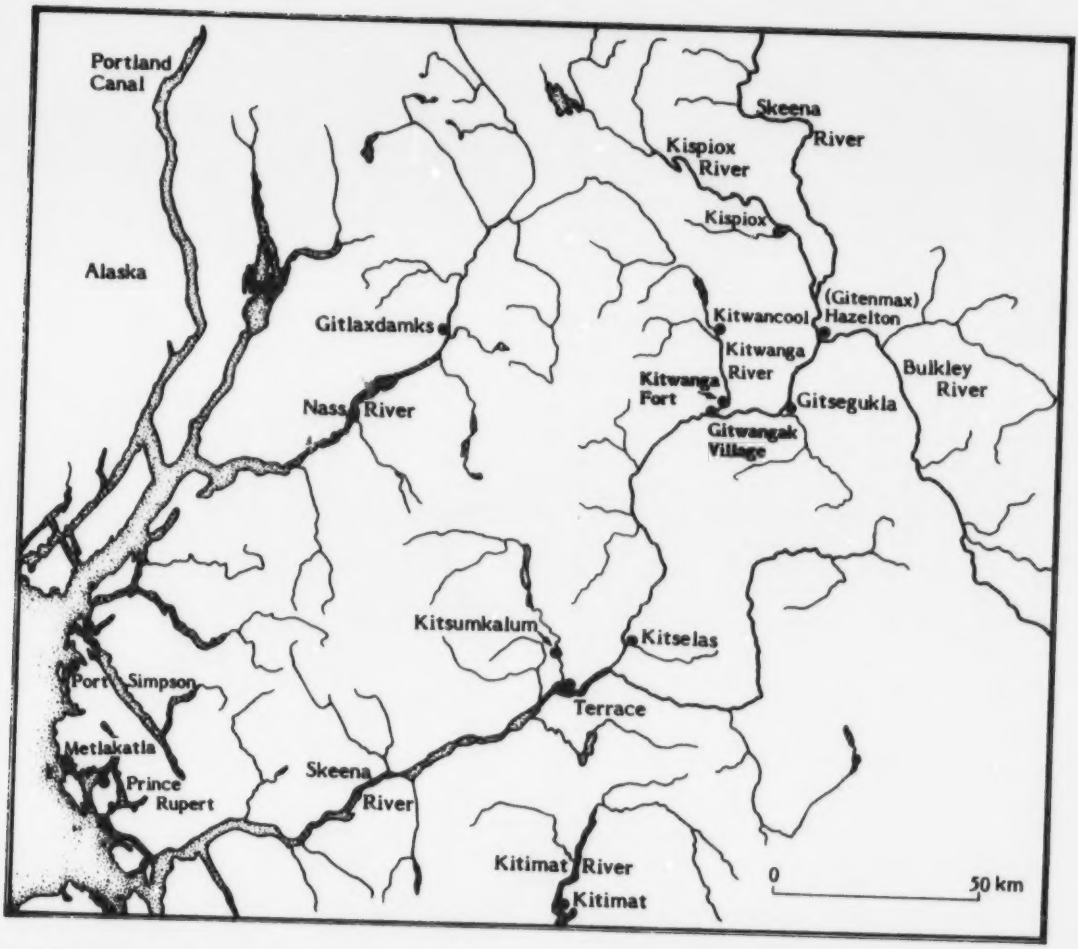
Submitted for publication 1980, by Joanne MacDonald, Cantley, Quebec.

Le village indien gitksan de Gitwangak est situé en bordure de la rivière Skeena, dans le nord de la Colombie-Britannique, à proximité d'un fort gitksan qui a été détruit dans les années 1830. D'après la légende, c'est le grand guerrier Nekt qui a construit ce fort; les quelque 100 objets illustrés et décrits dans le présent rapport ont été utilisés par lui, par ses descendants et par les descendants des familles qui ont vécu avec lui dans la fort. La majorité de ces objets, dont les trois quarts avaient une vocation cérémonielle, ont été rassemblés pendant les années 1920; ils font maintenant partie des collections du Service canadien d'ethnologie, Musée national de l'homme, Musées nationaux du Canada, Ottawa.

Acknowledgements

First, posthumous recognition must be made of the field work of Marius Barbeau and William Beynon, and of the contributions of those people of Gitwangak who shared with Barbeau and Beynon their knowledge of village life. For their assistance in the preparation of this report, I would like to thank John Cove, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa; Annette McFadyen Clark, Chief, Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, Ottawa, for access to the Canadian Ethnology Service collections; Judy Hall, Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, Ottawa; Renée Landry, Curator of Collections, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, Ottawa; and Phyllis Kihn, East Haddam, Connecticut.



1 Location of Kitwanga Fort National Historic Site and Gitwangak Village, northern British Columbia. (Map by D. Kappler.)

The Gitksan live in villages above the Kitselas Canyon along the Skeena River in northern British Columbia. The Coast Tsimshian live below the canyon, mainly on the coast, and the Nisgha live on the Nass River. All three groups are labelled under the term Tsimshian and speak related languages. There are eight Gitksan villages, of which Gitwangak is the most southerly.

Near Gitwangak Village is the site of the Taawdzep or hill fort, now Kitwanga Fort National Historic Site. (The more common spelling has been "Kitwanga"; however, the people of the village prefer the spelling "Gitwangak" as it more closely reflects pronunciation of the name.) Built, according to legend, by the great warrior Nekt, the fort was burned and abandoned in the 1830s (see MacDonald 1984). The objects illustrated and described in this report relate to Nekt, his descendants and the descendants of the families who lived with him at the Taawdzep until about 1830 and who later relocated in Gitwangak Village, about two miles from the fortress. (Nekt travelled widely in the Gitksan area as well as to the Nisgha area, and objects relating to Nekt and his descendants can be found in a number of other villages.)

It was possible to identify specimens associated with the Kitwanga fort by referring to the house histories recorded by Marius Barbeau (1973b) in *Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Upper Skeena River, British Columbia*. As well as being the major ethnographer of the Gitksan people of the upper Skeena River, Barbeau was also the major collector, in terms of both the number of objects and the excellent quality of his documentation. Recent Tsimshian ethnographers, such as Wilson Duff, Marjorie Halpin and John Cove, researching the Barbeau and Beynon notes housed in the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, have praised the scope of the archives.

Barbeau was fortunate in having the assistance of William Beynon, a Port Simpson native with an Indian mother and a white father. Barbeau trained Beynon as his assistant ethnographer (Barbeau 1923: 2). Beynon acted as translator in the 1924 field work at Gitwangak, but does not appear to have accompanied Barbeau in the summer of 1923 (Halpin 1978: 146).

The other collectors of material from Gitwangak included here are Harlan I. Smith, an archaeologist with the National Museums of Canada, who worked in the village of Gitwangak in the summer of 1926 restoring the totem poles, and C.V. Smith, a fur dealer from Hazelton, who made a general Gitksan collection, sparsely documented, that was acquired by the National Museums of Canada in 1925.

The largest and best-documented collection of material culture from Gitwangak is in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa. There are other collections of Gitwangak material across the country and beyond; however, enquiries to various institutions in Canada and the United States and to the national inventory of the National Museums of Canada brought forth disappointing results. The computerized national inventory revealed one Gitwangak specimen in the University of British Columbia museum in Vancouver: a shaman's headdress without the name of the original owner or the vendor. The Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, is the other museum having its Northwest Coast collections in the inventory, but nothing came forward for Gitwangak. The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, has a large collection from the Nass and Skeena rivers made by Marius Barbeau and William Benyon in 1927, and the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, has a collection made by Lieutenant G.T. Emmons and George A. Dorsey, but neither museum's lists indicate any pieces from Gitwangak. Nor are village locations given for the 32 specimens that Louis Shotridge collected from the Skeena River area in 1918 for the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

This lack of specific village information highlights a common museum problem, where the detailed notes on pieces are buried in archives and not yet co-ordinated with the pieces or, more commonly, details of village and owner were never recorded. This lack of information occurred with the large holdings of the Museum of the American Indian in New York. A search by the staff there located two Gitwangak pieces collected by the prolific collector G.T. Emmons in 1909: an ivory sha-

man's charm (9/7942) and a wooden rattle (9/7998) which Halpin described as "a round rattle from Kitwanga Laxskik chief called səmədi.k, who was also a shaman. The rattle had representations of a frog and a beaver. While the beaver was crest of səmədi.k, the frog was not" (Halpin 1973: 177). The rest of the Emmons collection was labelled "Gitksan, Upper Skeena River," with a few pieces attributed to Kispiox Village, farther up the Skeena River. Emmons is noted for the quality of his documentation, yet searches for specific village pieces amongst his collection can be quite frustrating. Emmons was the main collector for Lord Alfred Bossom of England, whose large Northwest Coast collection came to the National Museum of Man in 1961, but none of the 96 Tsimshian pieces in the Bossom collection are specifically attributed to Gitwangak.

The British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria, sent copies of their catalogue cards that list 38 specimens from Gitwangak. Unfortunately, there was no information as to owner or vendor. The majority of the collection was made in 1913 by C.F. Newcombe and consists of 17 sets of gambling sticks and cases, nine whistles, two painted cedar boxes, and one mat, box drum, totem-pole face, wooden spoon, dagger, candlestick, raven rattle, moon mask, "soul catcher" and "doctor's wig."

The Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, has very little Tsimshian material and what material there is has little documentation according to the curator. However, there is an 11-piece shaman's kit owned by Tommy Jack, a former shaman of Gitwangak. The phratry and house affiliation could probably be documented in the field.

Gitksan villages are described by John Adams as "a conceptual unit, not a residential unit. That is, the people may belong to one village but live in another" (1973: 56). The villages can be subdivided into phratries and houses. There are three phratries (the Gitksan name is given in brackets) in Gitwangak associated with the Taawdzep: the Frog-Raven (Ganhada), the Wolf (Laxkibu) and Eagle (Laxskik). Gitwangak is the only Gitksan village to have the Eagle phratry though it is widespread in other villages of the coast. The fourth phratry, Fireweed (Gisgast), is a recent arrival to Gitwangak and therefore is not included here. Phratry affiliation is matrilineal and phratries are exogamic, that is, one should not marry someone of the same phratry. The ranking of the phratries, most evident at feasts and potlatches, is consistent in all the Gitksan villages (Adams 1973: 56): (1) Eagle, (2) Fireweed, (3) Wolf, and (4) Frog. Even though the phratries are ranked, there was not a particular village chief, one who would act as spokesperson for the village. In this report the Frog-Raven phratry figures most prominently; it includes the house of Nekt, the celebrated warrior, and it is the phratry most represented in the pieces of material culture. (There are items of material culture associated with Nekt and his descendants from other Gitksan villages, but they are not discussed here.)

Most of the significant items of material culture in this report can be attributed to specific Gitwangak "houses," corporate, matrilineal groups associated with each phratry. The house was the principal resource-owning unit in Tsimshian society. Its resources included fishing spots and hunting and gathering territories which were exploited under the direction of the house chief. As well, each house had a "stock of supernatural powers acquired by ancestors of the House from spirits (naxnox) who had taken on physical forms to live in the same domain as humans" (Cove 1982: 7). The various ceremonial privileges -- names (of several types), crests, myths, songs and feast prerogatives -- owned by the house were also under the control or stewardship of its chief (Halpin 1973: 59). The house incorporated a number of ranked chiefs, men and women, each of whom headed a sub-house unit within the house.

Naxnox legends belonged with *naxnox* objects and when *naxnox* pieces were sold, skilled and knowledgeable collectors recorded the stories too. There was obvious reluctance on the part of many to pass on these legends, and the cryptic "Barbeau did not get the story of this" (Canada. National Museums. National Museum of Man. Canadian Ethnology Service, specimen documentation [hereafter cited as CANES]: VII.C.1351; Fig. 70) underscores the resentment felt by many native people to the persistent questioning of ethnographers. Yet without such information, these pieces would be regarded solely as art objects.

Almost one half of the more than 100 Gitwangak specimens in the National Museum of Man are *naxnox* masks, for many of which Barbeau, with the aid of William Beynon in

some cases, collected names, songs and associated theatrical presentations. The term "naxnox" refers to a personal spirit power which was revealed to participants in sacred ceremonies called "halait" preceeding a potlatch; "naxnox" implies the idea of power exhibited by the person wearing the mask. Not all *naxnox* were represented by masks. Barbeau and Beynon recorded some 650 *naxnox* names, according to Halpin, for all three divisions of the Tsimshian: Coast Tsimshian, Gitksan and Nisgha. Those from the Gitksan were most numerous (Halpin 1975: 3). Masks were worn in nearly all cases to dramatize a name; the name of the mask and the name of the person wearing it were the same except in cases where a hired person wore the mask for the owner. "Naxnox or spirit names once assumed, the name is not reserved for ceremonial occasions but is used as an everyday secular name" (Duff 1964: 68). *Naxnox* and their songs are owned by houses and are inherited. Barbeau interviewed David Swanson of Gitladzok Village on the subject:

> A man may invent a naxnox and may take as he wants without restriction, to his family. Those using the same naxnox are not for that reason more closely related or associated, but those eating the Dog (secret society) use the same naxnox in general, the whistle. Those that eat human flesh belong to another group. (Canada. National Museums. National Museum of Man. Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies [hereafter cited as CCFCS]: B-F-31.7).

Two cases of invented *naxnox* are probably the mask belonging to Kitwinkul Jim (VII.C. 1168, Fig. 85) and the mask of the Frenchman "Luzon" (VII.C.1063, Fig. 47). The *naxnox* masks were worn at "halaits" or sacred dances. (*Halait* may also refer to the performer, the song sung, and the dwelling where the ceremony is held). Each *naxnox* had an associated song or "breath" that was sung when it was used, and whistles representing the voice of the spirit were blown (Halpin 1975: 7). In the Frog-Raven phratry there are two *halait* whistles associated with Nekt (VII.C.1126 and 1127, Fig. 32), three in the house of Lulaq (VII.C.1048, 1049 and 1050), and two in the house of Haku (VII.C.1051, Fig. 57; 1052, Fig. 58). It was Boas who emphasized that "masks and carvings used in halaits were kept strictly hidden from those who were not entitled to use them. They were only exhibited at ceremonies" (1970: 54).

> The naxnox naming system and its ritual dramatization were continual reminders of the necessity of living within the rules of Tsimshian culture and of the resultant spectre of death if these rules were ignored or violated (Halpin 1975: 13).

Halpin defined three categories of *naxnox* masks: (1) those that refer to kinds of persons, usually foreigners and strangers; (2) those that refer to qualities of persons, either physical attributes or personality traits; and (3) those that refer to kinds of actions, some of them nonsensical (Halpin 1975: 9, 11, 13).

Masks are most readily appreciated as art objects; however, it is within the context of the Tsimshian naming system that their significance can best be understood. Halpin has studied the Tsimshian masking system in great detail, using as her original source material the Barbeau-Beynon file. (Her interpretive comments are included in the chapter "Artifacts Associated with Kitwanga Fort Families.")

Ceremonial objects expressing supernatural power form the largest category of objects in this report. Barbeau collected 25 *naxnox* masks with their names, and occasionally their songs and documented presentation, from various houses, and H.I. Smith collected five from Semedik of the Eagle phratry. Halpin noted some 60 cases of descriptions collected by Barbeau and Beynon in which dramatizations of *naxnox* masks and names are included; in two cases only did the informant specify that no mask was worn in the dramatization (Halpin 1975: 5). From these data it can be seen that the village of Gitwangak was the source of over one-half of the known collections of documented *naxnox* masks.

Masks were worn at potlatches which were official occasions for house chiefs to assert their status. Headdresses, rattles, neck rings, blankets, whistles, clubs and canes were also part of the chiefly attire that acknowledged the chiefs' access to power sources beyond the common people.

The fact that Barbeau and H.I. Smith were able to purchase, and as a result preserve, such a unique collection of ceremonial objects possibly reflects self-imposed restrictions in the village, patterned on the Kispiox declaration of 1914. The chiefs of that village put

forward a five-point notice: no more potlatches, no more old-fashioned feasts, no calling of names if any money is dispersed, all dancing to be abolished, and no more dressing in old leather and old-fashioned costume nor any painting of the face. The chiefs also decreed that the medicine men cease their practices (British Columbia. Archives. Raley Collection, Tomlinson Papers, 1914). ("Calling of names" refers to the identifying of the recipient of gift money; the higher ranking chiefs always received the most money.) Some items in this report were described as worn in the winter potlatch in Gitwangak in 1918, such as Lulaq's mask He Uses his Hands to Cut With (VII.C.1064, Fig. 48). A number of pieces collected in 1923 were "carved six years ago," possibly for that event: Lulaq's whistle (VII.C.1048), his "medicine man" mask (VII.C.1062, Fig. 46), and his hat bearing a crystal (VII.C.1097, Fig. 56). The 1918 potlatch may have been the last big event in the village.

Less than a quarter of the specimens collected were household objects. Though lacking in spiritual significance, they are objects of ordinary living that are likely unchanged from those that were used in dwellings at the Taawdzep. The description of the fish trap Lelt made in 1888 is an excellent example (see Fig. 43).

There is also a group of items that Barbeau documented in the early 1920s as "made or used 35 years ago," and which included some made "38 and 40 years ago." It is conceivable that these pieces were used at the village of Kitwancool's potlatch of 1886 that led to the Skeena River uprising of 1888. They are Sqayen's (Eagle phratry) *naxnox* mask (VII.C.1157, Fig. 76), and Lulaq's (Frog-Raven phratry) Corpse of Ghost mask (VII.C.1060, Fig. 44) and his "white man's" or "Luzon" mask (VII.C.1063, Fig. 47). In the story of Kamalmuk in *The Downfall of Temlaham*, based on the story of Kitwinkul Jim and the Skeena River uprising, the Lulaq house was involved in the unrest following the murder of the shaman Neetuh and in its subsequent settlement, among themselves, by the Indian groups involved.

> The members of *lulek's household*, at Kitwanga were prevailed upon as neutrals to perform an ungrateful task, that of returning to their former owners at Kitwankul the gifts of peace, and notifying head-chief Weehah of the abortion of the new alliance. (Barbeau 1973a: 109; emphasis added.)

Part One
The Ethnographic Setting

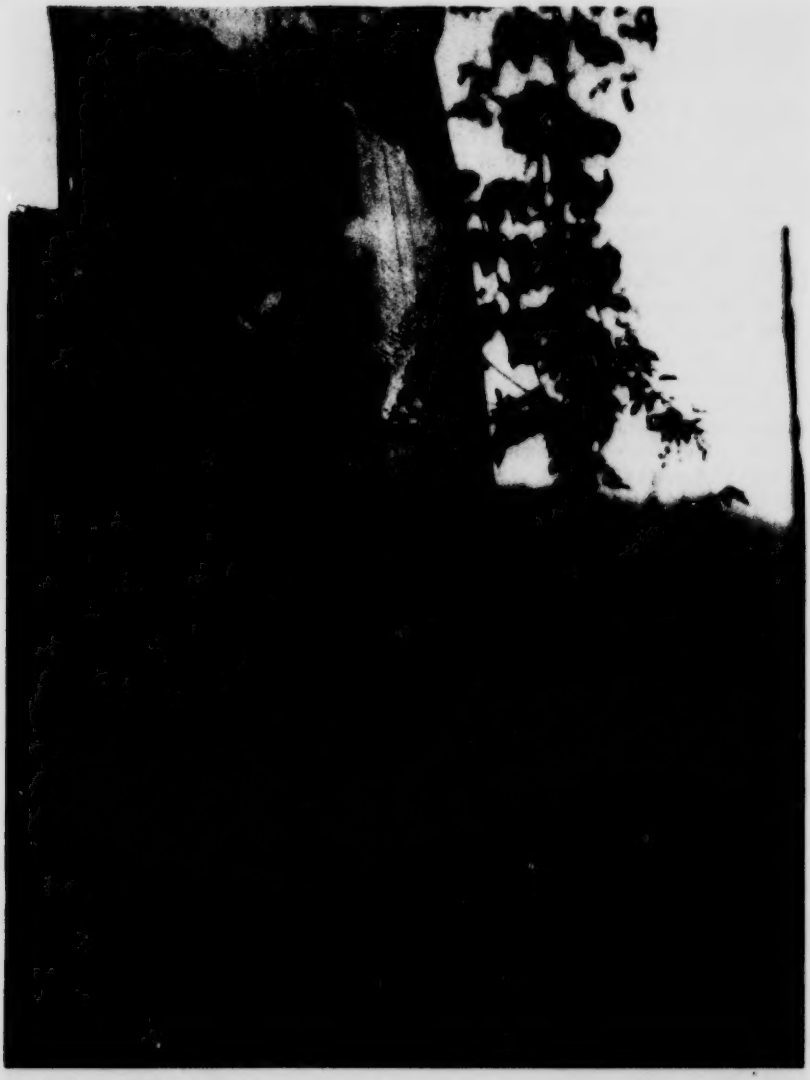
The Gitksan were divided into two secret societies, the "mihla" (or "gamita") and "luuhim" (or "lutim"), that is, the Dancers and the Dogeaters (or Destroyers). The Dancers performed as if they were lame and the Dogeaters gave the impression of actually eating a dog (Adams 1973: 48). Most of the cedar neck rings, headdresses and whistles from Gitwangak belonged to the Dancers. There was a third dance, the "ulala," to which chiefs who were members of the Dogeater Society, as well as healing *halaits* could belong (see Lelt's drum documentation: VII.C.1114, Fig. 39). "The ulala gave dances in which it appeared to the guests that they were devouring the corpses of slaves" (Adams 1973: 49). Drucker was quoted by Adams as noting that the *ulala* "was introduced 'not very long ago' but that several chiefs 'owned' it but none had ever put it on" (Adams 1973: 49). Barbeau described Nekt's cedar headdress VII.C.1173 (Fig. 33) as follows: "it was a ulala headdress and was never used in the lutim. It was last used three years ago. One ring was added to represent each time the halait was given and Nekt has given three" (CANES: VII.C.1173). This headdress was worn at Nekt's own *halaits*, as opposed to his other cedar headdress (VII.C. 1125, Fig. 31) which he wore to other *halaits*. It appears from the documentation that headdress VII.C.1173 was last used "three years ago," making the date 1921 that Nekt last participated in a *ulala* dance. There is also a 1924 photograph of Silas Brown, Chief Nekt, wearing the *ulala* headdress and a distinctive cedar neck ring which appears to be the one (VII.C.1174, Figs. 23, 33) that was purchased from Hlengwah. "When a man became a halait this neck ring was placed upon him by the chief halait. He then assumed his position as a halait" (CANES: VII.C.1174). The two neck rings belonging to the house of Lulaq (VII.C.1070, Fig. 50, and 1071) were documented by Barbeau:

> When the halait came back after his four days away, in the air, he had such a ring around his neck. He appeared before the people, and the chief hal·a·it came to him, took this lu·'x from his neck and shaked it over the fire. Then he put it back around the neck of return man again. This is called malktɔks (burning the lu·x) (CANES: VII.C.1070).

Halpin suggested that the Dancer and Dogeater Societies may have held joint initiations or used the same *halait* dwelling (Halpin 1973: 84). One of her points of evidence is the cedar club in the house of Lulaq (VII.C.1073, Fig. 51). She associated the violence of the club user with the Dogeaters although it is part of the Gamita or Dancer Society's kit (Halpin 1973: 84).

Whistles played an important part in the secret societies. There are eight examples from Taawdzep-related families. The two connected with Nekt (VII.C.1126 and 1127, Fig. 32) were documented as "representing the voice of the halait when Nekt was at the initiation of a halait," and "the two whistles were blown alternatively and were held in each hand." The three whistles of the house of Lulaq were described as "supernatural gamita" or "supernatural halait" (VII.C.1048, 1049 and 1050). The house of Haku had an old double whistle (VII.C.1051, Fig. 57) and a single whistle (VII.C.1052, Fig. 58). The whistle of Lelt (VII.C.1112, Fig. 37) was described as "longer than at present, cut to fit box." The box was probably used in transporting the whistles as described in the Barbeau-Beynon notes in 1926:

> The people of the village being visited would sound the naxnox whistles in the nearby shrubs and the visitors would stop some distance from the village and sound their naxnox whistles in turn and dancing towards the visitors the people would come gradually and then the people of the villages visited would exchange naxnox and this was a symbol of peace, no treachery on either side was to be expected (CCFCS: B-F-38.1).



2 Chief Hlengwah (Jim Laganitz) of the Frog-Raven phratry, Gitwangak. See Figure 21 for a full view of his dance apron (VII.C. 1133), barely visible here under his Chilkat tunic. (Photo by C.M. Barbeau, 1923; National Museums of Canada, 59770.)

When making recommendations for the totem pole restoration project of the Upper Skeena River in 1925, Barbeau wrote, "among the chiefs the first that should be seen are our friends Jim Lagaxnitz [Frog-Raven phratry], Semediks [Eagle phratry] and Salomon Harris (Lelt) [Frog-Raven phratry]" (Barbeau 1925: 6). These names are prominent in Barbeau's collection for the National Museum of Man. Barbeau collected 53 documented specimens from the Frog-Raven phratry out of a total of 64 described here from that phratry. I have chosen to describe the Frog-Raven phratry first as it is the phratry of Nekt, around whom this research is oriented.

House of Hlengwah
Frog-Raven Phratry

The Gitwangak Frog-Raven chief at the time of Barbeau's field work was Hlengwah, of whom we have a photograph (Fig. 2) and paintings by Langdon Kihn (Fig. 3) and Edwin Holgate (Fig. 4). Hlengwah's Christian name was James (Jim) Laganitz. Hlengwah's family had lived at the Taawdzep (Barbeau 1973b: 35), where they became the dominant family. The spiked logs that roll down the hill and crush the enemy in the story of Nekt are one of the crests of Hlengwah's family. At the time of the collection of Gitwangak material, Hlengwah owned a number of Nekt pieces though Silas Brown, the Chief Nekt of that time, also was in possession of some pieces of his namesake.

Barbeau purchased 12 specimens from Chief Hlengwah that belonged to his house. Unfortunately, only ten specimens are still in the collections of the National Museum of Man. Two pack straps (VII.C.1109 and 1110) were exchanged with the National Museum of Denmark in 1925; both had been gifts to Laganitz from women in the neighbouring village of Kitwancool.

Among the mixture of ceremonial and household items that Barbeau purchased in 1923 and 1924 are four masks, all described with their *naxnox* names and song. The mask Broken [in Two] by [Rays of] the Sun (VII.C. 1036, Fig. 15) was described in detail by Halpin:

> I consider the mask, "Broken by the Sun" to reveal the very essence of the naxnox ritual. It consists of a larger outer human face, quite stylized, and an inner human face, quite realistic. The inside face has painted on it blue hair and a mustache which are lacking in the outer face. The outer face has the blue (sometimes black) eye band and stylized bird feathers, found so often on naxnox masks. The eyes of the outer mask are closed; those of the inner mask are open. According to Barbeau's documentation, the being represented by the outer mask is blind. While the performer went around the house incessantly opening and shutting the outer mask, the chorus sang: "The sun will shine on me and break through." (Halpin 1975: 19.)

Halpin theorized on the meaning of the open- and closed-eye aspects of the mask: the symbolism of the blind outer mask indicated mankind without culture, and the inner mask with eye apertures allowed to man "see" in terms of acquiring culture. "There are a number of Tsimshian masks in museums with eyes that roll open and shut, but data as to when in a performance the action happened, or what the names of the masks were, are few" (Halpin 1975: 21). These *naxnox* fit into the "restore-to-life" category. "Whereas ordinary naxnox were ony metaphorical statements of death, and thus safely ambiguous and often even funny, 'restore to life' naxnox were undisguised statements of death." The chiefly *naxnox* had the power to restore, to bring back to life; as Halpin asserts, "such naxnox dramatization must have been very powerful ritual endorsements of the chief's secular power" (1975: 21-22).

Hlengwah also had a doll (VII.C.1182, Fig. 24) called "Person of the Hills" which is accompanied by a song and description, making it a return-to-life *naxnox*. Another item of Hlengwah is a neck ring (VII.C.1174, Fig. 23). Three old pieces are an adze (VII.C.1068, Fig. 18) "made before the time of present owner (over 70)," and a birchwood tray belonging to Hlengwah's grandmother (VII.C. 1096, Fig. 19), and a spindle whorl of hers as well (VII.C.1108, Fig. 20). The last of the ten pieces is a dance apron made of pack straps

3 Chief Hlengwah as painted by American artist W. Langdon Kihn who accompanied Barbeau into the field in 1924. (By permission of Miss Phyllis Kihn; original painting in the McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 62983.)

4 Chief Hlengwah as painted by Canadian artist Edwin Holgate who accompanied Barbeau into the field in 1926. (By permission of Mrs. Frances Holgate; location of original painting unknown; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 68139.)

(VII.C.1133, Fig. 21) which a Kitwancool woman gave to Hlengwah when he was a young man.

House of Halus
Frog-Raven Phratry

The Halus house, Frog-Raven phratry, had practically the same crests and privileges as Hlengwah. The flying-frog crest is now in this family (Barbeau 1973b: 56). There is a photograph of Albert Williams (Fig. 5), Halus in 1926, wearing a marvellous frog helmet whose present location is unknown. The National Museum of Man's ethnology collection has a similar frog helmet from Kitwancool (VII.C. 1767). No specimens from the Halus family were uncovered in this survey of Gitwangak material.

House of Axgawt
Frog-Raven Phratry

Four specimens, all *naxnox* masks belonging to the house of Axgawt, were purchased from Jim Laganitz. In his notes Barbeau stated:

> At the fortress the head chief was Weelaingwerh [Hlengwah], next was Nekt. After the death of Nekt Arhawt was born, son of Nekt's niece. He was to be his successor but he was not to assume his name. (Barbeau 1963: 291).

The house of Axgawt from Kitselas asked if they could come and reside at the Taawdzep, but they were refused. Axgawt was only allowed to live with his household at a spot a little below the fort called Wilyaranaw (Where Hollow Place). There was just one drinking place for them all (Barbeau 1963: 254). But a later Axgawt at the fortress decided to move down from the fortress as his Kitselas neighbours did not want to go as far as the Taawdzep (Barbeau 1963: 292). It appears from Barbeau's information (1973b: 49) that the last owner of the name Axgawt was Alfred Sinclair (Fig. 6); however, all the specimens attributed to the house of Axgawt were purchased from Jim Laganitz in 1923 and 1924. The name Axgawt ranks second to Hlengwah in the Frog-Raven phratry (Halpin 1973: 31).

Perhaps the most interesting of the four masks is the one bearing the name of the owner, Axgawt (VII.C.1058, Fig. 26). The

5 Chief Halus (Albert Williams), Frog-Raven phratry, Gitwangak, in 1926. The flying frog is a crest of this family. (Photo by Harlan I. Smith; National Museums of Canada, 59717.)

6 Chief Axgawt (Alfred Sinclair), Frog-Raven phratry, at the time of Barbeau's field work in Gitwangak in the summers of 1923 and 1924. Sinclair acted as translator for Barbeau. (Photo by C.M. Barbeau, 1923; National Museums of Canada, 59729.)

name translates as "without mind; crazy or foolish" and the description of the mask's use was given by Barbeau in his specimen description for it (see Fig. 26). Halpin also elaborated on the theme of the name of the mask and its song, "I am foolish, I am foolish," with its chorus of "the foolish man will eat the heart of all the people." She noted that the quality "thoughtless reckless, crazy et cetera, appears in 13 naxnox names which is more duplication than occurs with any other feature" (Halpin 1973: 2). Halpin's thesis is that the entire *naxnox* naming system is a metaphorical elaboration on the theme of death.

> The various physical infirmities represented by naxnox names -- old age, lameness, deafness, smallpox, et cetera -- were metaphors of physical death. The various cultural infirmities represented by naxnox names -- selfishness, strangeness, drunkenness, insanity, et cetera -- were metaphors of nonsense or meaninglessness, that is, cultural death (Halpin 1973: 12).

There is an interesting duplication of names in two of the *naxnox* masks of Axgawt. The two masks are not particularly similar in appearance and were carved about eight years apart. Twisting Root Fibres (VII.C.1135, Fig. 28) and Twisting Little Branches of Cedar Tree when Angry (VII.C.1057, Fig. 25) were each presented by a performer who came in to the feast in a fighting mood and tried to twist the people in a dramatization of the name.

David Swanson, of Gitladzok Village in Kitselas Canyon, talked to Barbeau about *naxnox* masks and indicated that members of the various secret societies use "the same naxnox in general" (CCFCS: B-F-31.7). It seems safe to conclude that the owners of the "twisting" *naxnox* were not only in the same house, but also in the same secret society. In the section dealing with Nekt, some specimens connected with secret societies are documented.

House of Nekt
Frog-Raven Phratry

In 1924 Silas Brown had the name Nekt (Figs. 7, 33) and Barbeau bought five pieces associated with the name from Hlengwah and two from Brown. Barbeau took a series of photographs of Brown wearing the grizzly-bear cape of his namesake, as well as an eagle headdress (VII.C.1124, Figs. 7, 30) that Brown sold to Barbeau and that was from the house of Tewalas, of the Eagle phratry, according to notes accompanying the headdress. A headdress, as a part of a chief's costume, is usually a symbol of a crest, and Halpin made the following observations on the eagle headdress:

> Although this piece represents an eagle, and was owned by a laxsk.i.k house, its use was specifically said to be a naxnɔx Eagle Person. This is an interesting specimen, intermediate between a mask and a headdress.... It prompts the speculation that, since the eagle was owned by this house both as a crest and a naxnɔx, the piece has characteristics of both a mask and a headdress (Halpin 1973: 195).

The eagle headdress worn by Nekt presents

7 Chief Nekt (Silas Brown), Frog-Raven phratry, in Gitwangak at the time the museum collections were made in 1923 and 1924. He is wearing the eagle headdress (VII.C.1124, Fig. 30) which was originally the property of the house of Tewalas. (Photo by C.M. Barbeau, 1923; National Museums of Canada, 62609.)

some problems in interpretation. He definitely wore it and actually sold the piece to Barbeau in 1924; however, the documentation that Barbeau collected noted "property of the house of tuwâtasᵁ," (Tewalas), Eagle phratry, Gitwangak.

Nekt had acquired an eagle crest (Medzeks) when he raided the Kitimat:

> Thus, through conquest, the Eagle became the emblem of several Skeena River families, of the [Laxsel] phratry, in spite of the rule, elsewhere prevalent, that the Eagle is an outstanding emblem owned exlusively within the phratry of the same name. The Gitksan, for that reason, admit only reluctantly that it is an Eagle (Barbeau 1973b: 37.)

The other item purchased from Silas Brown was a headdress of cedar bark with abalone pieces (VII.C.1173, Fig. 33). The specimen documentation explains that the three rings on the hat indicate the number of *halaits* that Nekt had given. This headdress would be worn at his own *halaits;* his single-ring cedar-bark headdress (VII.C.1125, Fig. 31) would be worn when he attended halaits other than his own. The former owner of the single-ring headdress is listed as the uncle of Jim Laganitz, Niesgamala.

I have included five bird carvings (VII.C. 1212, Fig. 35). They are made from grizzly-bear teeth and "were attached to a bear robe larger than the ordinary medicine man's robe." That was the only documentation collected by C.V. Smith; however, Nekt was famous for his bearskin armour and Silas Brown is wearing a bearskin robe in Figure 7, so the carvings may have belonged to Nekt.

I have also included under Nekt information from the catalogue record on a totem pole fragment (VII.C.1172, Fig. 34), now in the Canadian Ethnology Service collection. It was purchased from Hlengwah, who had stood on the pole when he took the name Laganitz. It is the oldest extant portrayal of Nekt (see MacDonald 1984).

There is one *naxnox* mask of Nekt, Only Common Woman (VII.C.1123, Fig. 29). Unfortunately, no description of its use or song was recorded.

House of Leit
Frog-Raven Phratry

"The family of Laelt at Kitwanga consists of six households; those of: Laelt, Ha'ku, Allaist or T-haku, Wawderh and Luleq" (Barbeau 1973b: 41).

Of the ten specimens purchased from Salomon Harris (Chief Leit), Barbeau collected seven in 1924. The remaining three were

collected by C.V. Smith and received at the museum in 1925.

The Lelt pieces are mainly ceremonial: a mask, drum, whistle, cane, snake replica and two rattles. A spindle whorl and horn ladle fit in the household category. The description of the use of a large basket fish trap and the location of its use, probably near the Taawdzep, is a valuable ethnographic record (Fig. 43).

Lelt specimens in the museum actually number only nine because the large bird rattle (VII.C.1201) was sent as an exchange piece to the National Museum of Denmark in 1928.

Lelt used the snake as a crest. It was obtained as a crest at the same time as the frog in the lake (Halpin 1973: 86). Lelt translates as "Snake," and the ceremonial objects of this reptile reflect both the chief's name and his crest. A photograph (Fig. 8) and a Kihn painting (Fig. 9) depict Lelt with his snake-headed cane (VII.C.1178, Fig. 40). The other specimen depicting Lelt's name is the snake replica (VII.C.1113, Fig. 38), a segmented wooden snake which formerly had a covering. The following snake dramatization was described by Lelt in 1923 in the Barbeau-Beynon notes:

> The performer wore a mask and was sitting on the platform at the rear of the house. It represented a woman in the pain of childbirth. And when she would rise where she was standing ... Lelt (snake) would be left behind as if she had given birth to the snake. The skins in the possession of Lelt were used in this way (CCFCS: B-F-55.3).

In 1924 Lelt explained to Barbeau, through the translations of William Beynon, that "Lelt (snake) was gotten (as a crest) at the same time as the frog-in-the-lake" (CCFCS: B-F-55.4).

8 Chief Lelt (Salomon Harris), Frog-Raven phratry, Gitwangak, holding his cane (VII.C. 1178, Fig. 40) and wearing the same *amhalait* (frontlet) as in the Kihn painting (Fig. 9). "The house of Lelt was said to own an am'halait with a representation of the supernatural bird mədzəks; this is possibly the same one" (Halpin 1973: 251). (Photo by C.M. Barbeau, 1923; National Museums of Canada, 59811.)

House of Lulaq
Frog-Raven Phratry

The house of Lulaq, under Chief Lelt, was headed by Isaac Benson when Barbeau purchased the following collection of 17 items from him in 1923. All of the objects are ceremonial; six are *naxnox* masks. Two of the *naxnox* masks (VII.C.1060, Fig. 44; 1066, Fig. 45) reflect the name Lulaq (Corpse of Ghost). Both masks are described as very old; one was

9 Chief Lelt, holding his snake cane (VII.C. 1178, Fig. 40). W. Langdon Kihn, *Salomon Harris*, 1924, gouache and conte, 75.9 cm by 50.8 cm, gift of F.N. Southam. (By permission of Miss Phyllis Kihn; Collection, the Vancouver Art Gallery; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 63028.)

10 Chief Semedik, Eagle phratry, by W. Langdon Kihn in 1924. Kihn purchased the rattle shown here. It was one of a pair and the other was collected by Barbeau (VII.C.1116, Fig. 65). The locations of the frontlet and Chilkat blanket are unknown. (By permission of Miss Phyllis Kihn; original painting in the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 62988.)

about 40 years old in 1923 and the other was "much older." Two of the *naxnox* fit into the category of outsider masks: the Haida medicine chief mask (VII.C.1062, Fig. 46) and the mask of the Frenchman Luzon (VII.C.1063, Fig. 47). The last two objects would fit the category "kind of actions": a dancer wearing the mask He Uses his Hands to Cut With (VII.C.1064, Fig. 48) carried a knife (VII.C. 1067, Fig. 49) that he pretended to injure the chiefs with, later paying them. The last *naxnox* is made up of four parts, a rat mask worn by a dancer and three small rats, pulled by strings, that ran around on the ground (VII.C.1075, 1076, 1077 and 1078, Figs. 52-55). The rat *naxnox* was said to be 45 years old in 1923, and the song connection had been forgotten.

The *halait* items -- three whistles (VII.C. 1048, 1049 and 1050), two neck rings (VII.C. 1070, Fig. 50, and 1071) and a club (VII.C.1073, Fig. 51) -- have been described in the context of the *halait* earlier in this report. The hat of the frog with a crystal set in the top (VII.C. 1097, Fig. 56) is one of the most interesting of the Gitwangak specimens. The crystal itself is probably very old. The story of the power of a crystal is a recurring theme in Tsimshian mythology.

House of Haku
Frog-Raven Phratry

The house of Haku was subordinate to Chief Lelt and used to have names in common with Lelt. Haku's existence at the time of the Taawdzep occupation is confirmed in the Barbeau notes: "after the Kitimat attack on the Fortress, the house of Haku took the war club 'Harallao' for its own" (Barbeau 1963: 254).

In 1923 Barbeau collected five specimens from Sarah Harris, a sister of Haku, in the Frog-Raven phratry. John Fowler was Haku at the time of Barbeau's work (Barbeau 1973b: 45). A sixth item, a mask, was purchased in 1924 from Maggie Wells, a member of the Eagle clan, and she identified it as a *naxnox* in the house of Haku. The six items can be categorized as ceremonial and household. In the ceremonial category are two whistles (VII.C.1051, Fig. 57; VII.C.1052, Fig. 58), a dance blanket (VII.C.1105, Fig. 61), and part of a mask (VII.C.1161). The household items are a loom (VII.C.1079, Fig. 59) and a basket (VII.C.1087, Fig. 60).

11 Chief Semedik in 1923. The Chilkat blanket and eagle *amhalait* were worn for Kihn's painting (Fig. 10). (Photo by C.M. Barbeau; National Museums of Canada, 59733.)

House of Semedik
Eagle Phratry

The Eagle phratry is the highest ranking in Gitwangak Village. In 1924 the head man in Gitwangak was Chief Qawq, followed by other Eagle chiefs, Tewalas in fifth position in the village and Sqayen in seventh position. Adams refers to the ranking of these chiefs during a Kitwancool *halait* when they were called upon

12 Chief Semedik in 1928 wearing a conical hat and a shirt with the bear's-den crest. (Photo by C.M. Barbeau; National Museums of Canada, 59726.)

13 Chief Semedik wearing his Chilkat blanket and real eagle headdress. The thimble tinklers on his dance apron are of the type found in the excavation of the Taawdzep in 1979. (Photo by C.M. Barbeau, 1923; National Museums of Canada, 59731.)

to restore the life of a *naxnox* performer: "then he called upon the Eagles, Wolves and Frogs of Kitwanga: 1) Qoq, 2) Hlengwa, 3) Axtihix, 4) Halus, 5) Dewalasxw, 6) Lelt, 7) Sqayan" (Adams 1973: 44).

At the time the material culture reported here was collected, the name of Qawq was carried by Chief Semedik, from whom 15 specimens were purchased for the National Museum and one for the Museum of the American Indian, New York. Barbeau only collected one piece, a rattle (VII.C.1116, Fig. 65). The documentation indicates that Semedik thought the rattle was "very old, made before the white man came ... 'about a thousand years

old.' " The artist W. Langdon Kihn, "in the field with Barbeau," bought the other rattle of the matching pair. Kihn's portrait of Semedik shows him holding the rattle Kihn bought (Fig. 10).

Semedik was the oldest chief in the village when Barbeau was there in 1923 and 1924. The old man is seen wearing the eagle frontlet and Chilkat blanket that he wore when he posed for Kihn (Fig. 11), and wearing a painted shirt with the bear's-den crest and a conical hat (Fig. 12). A full-figure photograph (Fig. 13) shows Semedik in his Chilkat blanket but wearing a real eagle head as his headdress. There is speculation that only a chief was allowed to wear the real representation of his crest. (This headdress is not known to be in any museum collection.)

Perhaps the most interesting of the five masks collected from Semedik is the eagle mask described as "Semedik's own mask" by H.I. Smith in his documentation of 1926 (VII.C.1349, Fig. 68). There is a striking similarity between Semedik's eagle mask with the cloth covering the face and the eagle headdress worn by Nekt (VII.C.1124, Figs. 7, 11). These pieces are transitional between masks and headdresses, being worn on the forehead, or with the face covered by a cloth. When wearing his eagle mask at potlatches, Semedik walked among the crowd and scratched everyone he passed. "Each clawed person receives some present free, more than others."

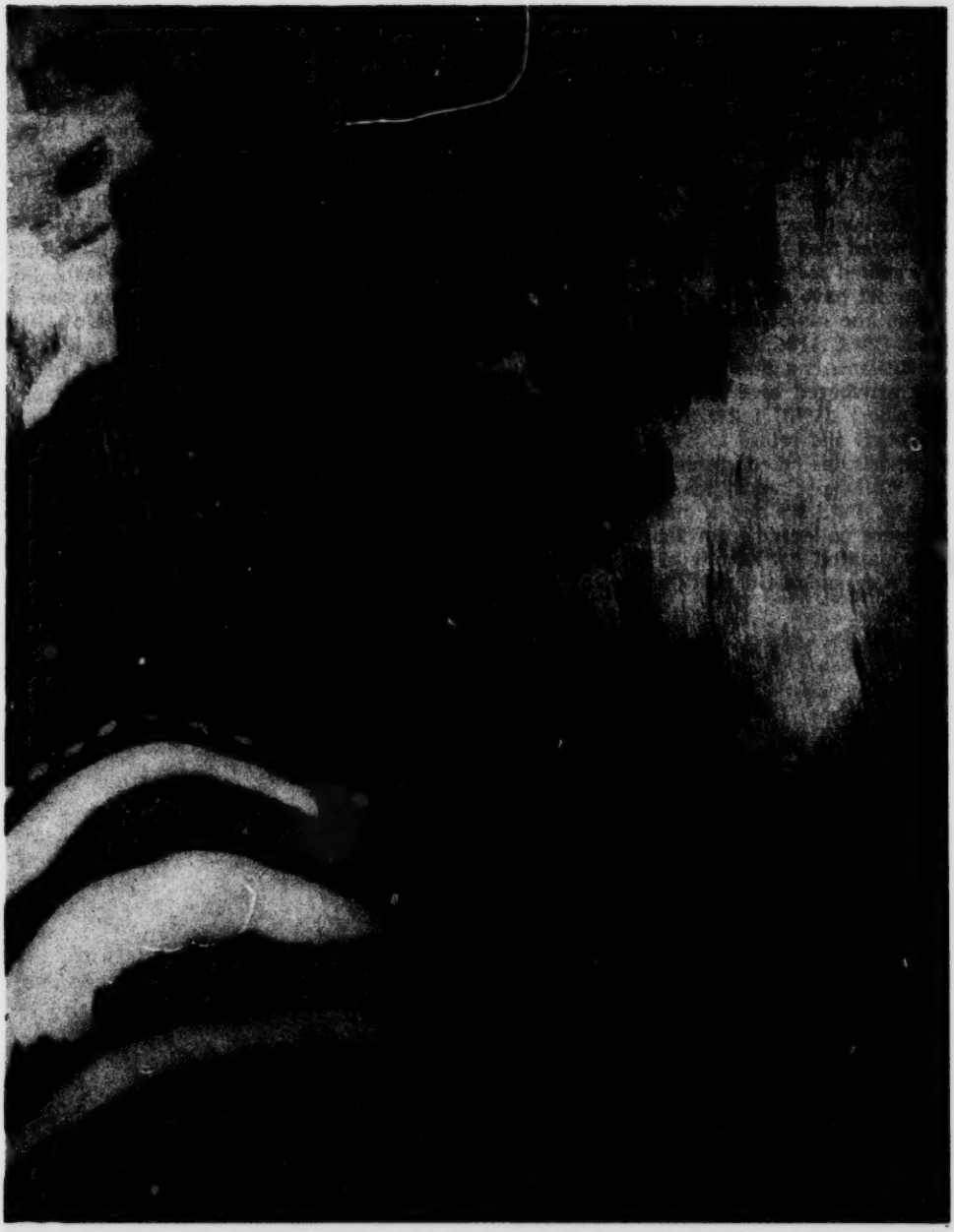
The remaining masks are interesting *naxnox* types. Two have transforming qualities: Bad-tempered Woman (VII.C.1350, Fig. 69) has an opening headband controlled by strings, and Latsel had two faces (VII.C.1351, Fig. 70) although one face is now lost. The Latsel "story" was not collected, according to the notes, but existing details are intriguing. The feet of the dancer wearing the two masks were disguised so it was impossible to tell his front from his back. The mask of the doctor (VII.C.1348, Fig. 67) and the ground hogs on strings (VII.C.1353, Fig. 72) complete the ceremonial items. The household items -- two horn spoons (VII.C.1251 and 1252) and a box (VII.C.1354, Figs. 73-75), as well as a mat for gathering soapolallie berries (VII.C.1355) -- complete the list. The mat and one spoon (VII.C.1252) were traded to the National Museum of Denmark in 1928.

House of Sqayen
Eagle Phratry

The house of Sqayen lived in the same house as Qawq at the fortress (Barbeau 1973b: 141). In ancient times it was the second-ranking of the four houses of the Eagle phratry at Gitwangak. With the exception of the beaver, Sqayen's crests are the same as those of the Eagle head chief, Qawq (Barbeau 1973b: 141). (In the 1920s Qawq carried the name Semedik.) Eleven specimens of the house of Sqayen were purchased from Mrs. Maggie Wells, who was Sqayen in 1924 (Barbeau 1973b: 137). There are six masks in the house of Sqayen. Two fall in the category of "quality of persons": the mask that envies the chiefs (VII.C.1157, Fig. 76), and the mask of the woman who foretells the future (VII.C.1162, Fig. 80). There are two masks named "Tsak" that extinguish fire. One Tsak mask (VII.C. 1163, Fig. 81) is accompanied by a fire drill and hearth (VII.C.1164a/b, Fig. 82) for relighting the fire and the other (VII.C.1165, Fig. 83) is similar but is described as an "older" one. The *naxnox* presented in the Sqayen mask (VII.C.1158, Fig. 77), which has the figure of a person paddling in a revolving canoe (VII.C. 1159, Fig. 78) on top of the mask, is said to represent the myth of Sqayen. The figure in the canoe is the leader of a war party that raided the coast. The remaining piece in the house of Sqayen is a fan-like device opening with strings (VII.C.1166) that is part of a *naxnox* outfit.

House of Gilawaw
Eagle Phratry

Gilawaw was the head of the fourth-ranking of the four houses of the Eagle phratry at the time the objects were collected. A mask with sliding cloth strips (VII.C.1053, Fig. 84) was purchased from Gilawaw's daughter, Sarah Harris of the house of Haku. Unfortunately, the mask lacks any description of its presentation.



14 John Laganitz, Wolf phratry, Gitwangak, wearing a cedar neck ring and cedar headdress. W. Langdon Kihn, *Johnny Lahnitz*, 1924, gouache and conte, 76.2 cm by 51 cm, gift of F.N. Southam. (By permission of Miss Phyllis Kihn; Collection, the Vancouver Art Gallery; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 62998.)

Wolf Phratry

The Wolf phratry is sparsely represented at Gitwangak and appears to have been so for some time. Barbeau wrote that there was only one Wolf house at the Taawdzep, and it later divided into two. In the 1920s the two houses were headed by Hlawts (or Tots) and Tenamget (Halpin 1973: 34). Tenamget was represented by Mrs. Stephen Morgan (Barbeau 1973b: 130). Barbeau noted that the house of Axti had only recently gained prominence (1973b: 129).

We do not have records of museum collections from the major Wolf houses. The wolf headdress (VII.C.1196, Fig. 86) purchased from Robert Williams is a fine piece; unfortunately, it is not attributed to a particular house. A spindle whorl (VII.C.1129) belonged to the house of Axti and brings to three the total of spindle whorls described in this report.

Two Wolf specimens, a spruce-root hat (VII.C.1239, Fig. 87) and a mask (VII.C.1168, Fig. 85) were collected from Johnny Laganitz, who was painted by Kihn in 1924 (Fig. 14). Laganitz was named Guraklh (Small Rat) with his portrait documentation, and in the specimen documentation as Kwoqaq, originally of Kispiox but now residing in Gitwangak.

One of the most historically interesting masks in the collection is the one obtained from John Laganitz (John [Johnny] Laganitz, the son of Jim Laganitz, died in 1926). It is the mask belonging to Kitwinkul Jim (VII.C. 1168, Fig. 84), the central figure in the Skeena River Rebellion of 1888. Barbeau described the saga of Kamalmuk, or Kitwinkul Jim, in *The Downfall of Temlaham*. Kitwinkul Jim, of the Wolf phratry of Kitwancool, was shot down by police constables in the village of Gitwangak and is buried there. He had murdered an old shaman at the instigation of his wife, named Sunbeams or Hanamuk, of Gitsegukla. She had accused the shaman of bewitching and causing the death of her two sons. The shaman's murder was settled by a feast and payment among the Indian people of the villages of Kitwancool and Gitsegukla; however, exaggerated news reached Victoria and a gunboat was sent to the Skeena to subdue the Indians.

Part Two
The Material Culture of Gitwangak

The object descriptions in this discussion of the material culture from Gitwangak are based on the specimens and the collectors' specimen documentation in the records of the Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, Ottawa, and are augmented by material from other sources, as indicated by the in-text references. The spelling of placenames, phratry and house names, and well-known names and terms has been simplified and standardized; phonetic symbols in other names and terms have been simplified but the words are otherwise spelled as they appear in the documentation. The collector, date of collection and, where available, photograph sources are included in the object descriptions.

It is hoped that these data will provide a base for further research, perhaps by the people of the village of Gitwangak itself, who are the ultimate authorities on these objects. Some objects' attribution to house and phratry are based on that of the vendor, which may have led to faulty conclusions, and I apologize in advance for any confusion it may cause. The museum catalogue descriptions have provided short verbal snapshots with the main focus on the objects themselves though removed from their ceremonial status. It is hoped that the reader will catch a glimmer of the activities and excitement in a Gitwangak feast house 70 years ago and beyond.

House of Hlengwah
Frog-Raven Phratry

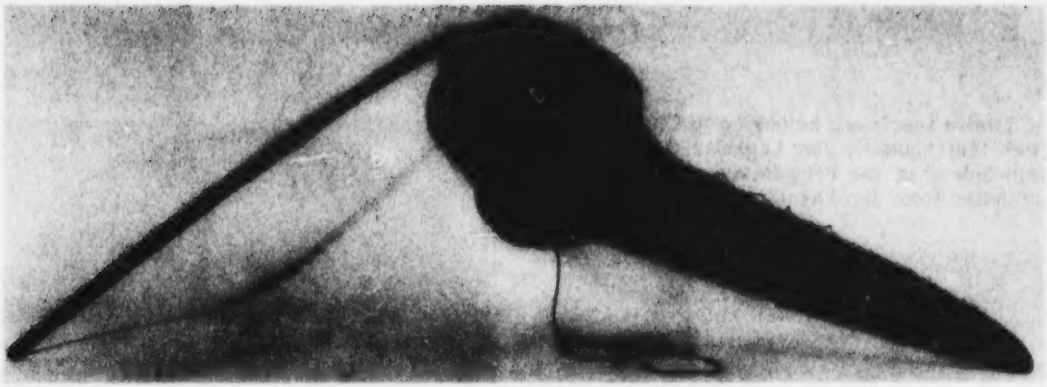
Twelve specimens belonging to Chief Hlengwah (Earthquake), Jim Laganitz (Looking to Both Sides), of the Frog-Raven phratry, were purchased from Jim Laganitz by Barbeau.

15 Mask (VII.C.1056)
A *naxnox* double mask named "Galagasgitgawmk" ("Broken [in Two] by [Rays of] the Sun" or "The Sun Shines on It and Its Heat Breaks It"). The outer being is blind. It was not used as a name; it was used in public in the feast house. The performer went around in the presence of the chiefs, opening and shutting the mask incessantly by means of strings, while at the back of the house the singer sang his song: "tematixku^{c} tettaskalaxɛ xɔ̀inɛgal galgɛsgɛmt nɔyuwchel" (the sun will shine on me and break through). The mask was carved ca. 1908 by a Nass River man, Nagemwilgoks of Gitlaxdamks Village, who came to Gitwangak for the purpose of carving. The inner mask is made of cottonwood and the outer mask is of red cedar. Height, 26 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 73-2495.)

16 Mask (VII.C.1059)
A mask named "Sagaptsiku" ("All Around Dance" or "Dancing All Around [in Every House -- for Fun]") represented the face of a woman. Accompanied by five or six men, the performer using the mask went through all the houses in the village, singing and dancing. The first line of the song was spoken: "HahaY h ... he he ... tadem'elim" (we are going to put some words now); the subsequent two lines were sung:

nisen wɛtdiyɛ'wihal.a.it gantxaxgqawtix.
(really very big chief [*halait*]. He looses the whole [village].)
nawidzɛpt sagaptsiegum hal.a.it.
("The big village, dancing through [every house] the chief [*halait*]." That is, "The whole village was lost by the big *halait*.")

The mask, of red cedar and cottonwood, was made ca. 1893 by Tsacis, Hlengwah's wife's brother, a Fireweed of Gitsegukla Village. Height, 23 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, J18688-3.)



17 Mask (VII.C.1074)
A *naxnox* mask named "Gitkins," a small bird resembling the woodcock in size and whose song when it flies through the air -- "gitgitgitkin" -- resembles the name. The stick was tied to the performer's back at his belt. When dancing in the presence of the assembly, the performer kept the beak moving up and down by strings attached to the mask. The song is:

ayah - (bis) huhu - nidɛt'wɛ' (how far will)
yɛnde' (you go when you are)
wihal.a.it (big *halait*)
nayahɛ (question)
wadəmelim (put in a word now)
wilnage (there is a hole)
galaxɛ (in heaven)
unnaxlɛde (I swoop down deep through into the earth)
gənaxnɔ̀gawahe (because I am *naxnox* spirit)
gitkinse qawɔ̀hɛ (the gitkins bird).

The red cedar mask was made by Laxawlamawt of Gitxadin on the Nass River "over 30 years ago," that is, sometime before 1893. Height, 70 cm; length, 110 cm; width, 30 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-6883.)

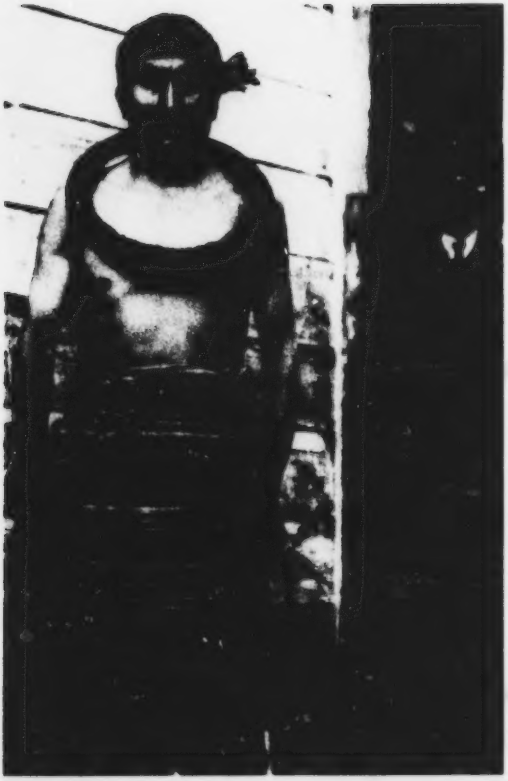
18 Adze (VII.C.1068)
A round adze *(taxwins)* with a birch handle *(hawq)* used to carve the inside of dugout canoes. "Very old, made before the time of present owner [Hlengwah] (over 70); belonged to his family." This very traditional tool could date to before 1854. Handle length, 50 cm; head length, 23 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, photo by R. Chan.)

19 Tray (VII.C.1096)
Birchwood tray *(habastan,* "very old name") made at Gitwangak "presumably very long ago." It belonged to Hlengwah's grandmother (Alisu, "Of the Slow"), of the same house as her grandson. One of the oldest pieces from Gitwangak, it could date as far back as 1814 when the Taawdzep was still occupied. It was used for everyday purposes. Length, 31 cm; width, 21 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-10167.)

20 Spindle Whorl (VII.C.1108)
A cedar spindle whorl *(halal)* was used for spinning mountain-goat wool. The piece also belonged to Hlengwah's grandmother, and it too could date as far back as 1814. Length, 56 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 80-594.)

Pack Strap (VII.C.1109)
A pack strap *(txadawqt)* with a green stripe, made of twine and wool. Hlengwah received it as a gift from a Kitwancool woman in the house of Wixe. It was sent in an exchange to the National Museum of Denmark in 1928. See the apron of pack straps in Figure 21. (Barbeau, 1924.)

Pack Strap (VII.C.1110)
Red, yellow and black pack strap given to Hlengwah by Kwinu of Kitwancool in 1921. It was sent in an exchange to the National Museum of Denmark in 1928. See Figure 21. (Barbeau, 1924.)



21 Dance Apron (VII.C.1133)
A dance apron *(ambalanam halait)* worn by Hlengwah was made of pack straps 4 cm to 5 cm wide. It was multi-coloured -- wine red, purple, blue, yellow, white and black -- with a leather fringe tipped with brass thimbles and carved bear claws. The apron was made by a Kitwancool woman, Sgasyon, of the house of Gamlaxyawlk, Frog-Raven phratry, "long ago" and was given to Hlengwah when he was a very young man. The apron could date to 1875, assuming that Hlengwah was about 20 years old when he received it. The weaver "followed her own idea in making it"; it is partly mountain-goat wool. Width, 111 cm; front length, 56 cm; side length, 44 cm; fringe length, 23 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. British Columbia Provincial Museum, 13455.)

22 Mask (VII.C.1136)
A large mask named "Txadawldols" (All Alive) represented a *naxnox* in the house of Hlengwah. The performer pretended to come from the hills and would be announced by the master of ceremonies as a being that could bring anyone back to life. The mask was carved ca. 1910 by Nagemwilgoks, of the Nass house of Niaskinwawtk, Wolf phratry, Gitlaxdamks. Its song is "ayuwat təmdi halaidigwa" (oh my, will be great *halait* I). The crown of claws *(gataxs)* illustrated the song: it revolved on the headdress. This showed his great power. (See the documentation for Semedik's rattle [VII.C. 1116, Fig. 65] for an account of a curing ceremony at which the patient wore a crown similar to this one.) Mask height, 28 cm; mask width, 23 cm; crown diameter, 31 cm; horn height, 15 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, J10145.)

23 Neck Ring (VII.C.1174)
Cedar neck ring *(awtasu)* dyed red and having swan-feather patches. When a man became a *halait*, this was placed upon him by the chief *halait*. He then assumed his position as a *halait*. "It was used by the owner himself about three years ago" (ca. 1921). The neck ring was made by Haxpagwawtu (Arthur McDames) ca. 1917. See Figure 33 for a photograph of Nekt wearing it. Ring thickness, 6 cm; ring diameter, 38 cm; strap length, 95 cm; strap width, 6 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 80-396.)

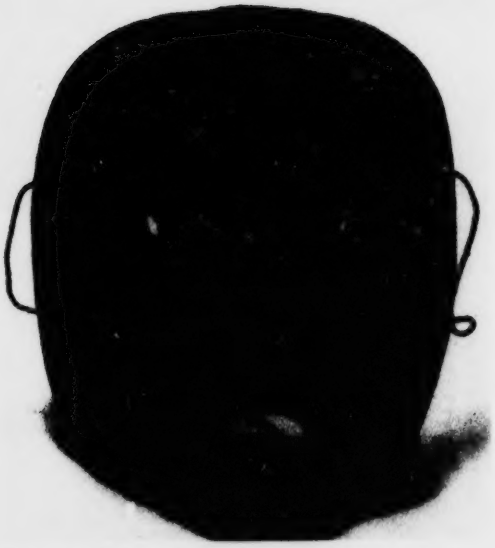
24 Doll (VII.C.1182)
The doll carving represents a spirit "Gawdamgilhaoli" (Person of the Hills), a *naxnox* in the house of Hlengwah. The performer sang "gɛdəmgilhaoli temtin ləmɔtxu" (Person of the Hills will cure I), and then pretended to die. Under the influence of this *naxnox* he would be restored to life. The carver was Lain of the Nass house of Wigawt, Fireweed phratry, Gitlaxdamks, who executed it ca. 1916. Hlengwah was the last to use it. Total height, 71 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-2960.)

House of Axgawt
Frog-Raven Phratry

Four specimens from the house of Axgawt were purchased from Jim Laganitz (Hlengwah). The house of Axgawt was a high-ranking "royal" Frog-Raven house, and Axgawt was Hlengwah's "own brother" (CCFCS: B-F-55). The kin reference is not to a literal biological brother but to a social kin relationship.

25 Mask (VII.C.1057)
A *naxnox* mask named "Taxumsqawxt" (Twisting Little Branches of Cedar Tree when Angry). When the *naxnox* was represented in the feast house, the chief wearing the mask appeared to be angry and someone came along to wrestle with him and tried to twist him like cedar bark. Swan's-down was placed on the 22 wooden dowels that were set into holes around the edge of the mask; now all but one of the dowels have been broken off. The mask was carved ca. 1908 by a Nass River man, Nagemwilgoks of Gitlaxdamks Village. Height, 25 cm; width, 23 cm; depth, 18 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-5365.)

26 Mask (VII.C.1058)
The Axgawt (Without Mind, Foolish) mask was the mask of the name of the chief of this house. A large canvas was spread at the back of the house and the person wearing the mask came out of it. The performer went toward the assembly and danced before them; he held a stick in his hand and sang "axgɔt gatnuyude" (I am foolish, I am foolish). The people sang in response, "təmksitsitsɛtatwi' axgɔdəmgɛt" (the foolish man will eat the heart of all the people). The maker of the birchwood mask was Laxwawlamawt, Wolf phratry, of Gitxadin Village on the Nass River. It was made "about 40 years ago" (ca. 1883) when Alfred Sinclair, the interpreter, was very young and just before an epidemic of measles. Height, 19 cm; width, 16.5 cm; depth, 10 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 73-1998.)



27 Mask (VII.C.1134)
A mask named "Kawlusawawlks" (Single Attendant [on Chief]) represented a *naxnox* in the house of Axgawt. The performer entered with a spear and walked toward the chief while singing "huhuhu." He then announced that he was "the single attendant upon the chief." The mask was carved ca. 1913 by a Nisgha named Wetu of the house of Niaskinwawtk, Wolf phratry, Gitlaxdamks. Height, 21.5 cm; width, 19.2 cm; depth, 13.3 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-4343.)

28 Mask (VII.C.1135)
A *naxnox* mask named "Tagawmgawxt" (Twisting Root Fibres). To dramatize the name, the performer wearing it entered in a fighting mood, pretending to twist the people around. The mask belonged to the house of Axgawt and was carved by Tsaawawls of the house of Guxsan, Gitsegukla, ca. 1916. Height, 22.3 cm; width, 17.7 cm; depth, 9.6 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-16842.)

House of Nekt
Frog-Raven Phratry

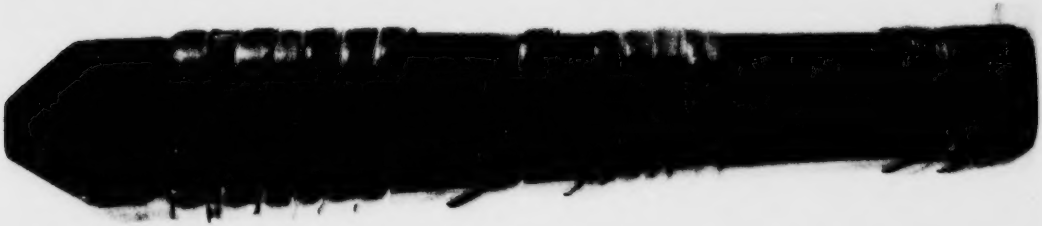
In 1924 Barbeau purchased five specimens of the house of Nekt, Frog-Raven phratry, from Jim Laganitz (Hlengwah) and two from Silas Brown (Nekt). "Hlengwah is not the same as Nekt. Hlengwah come here later. Now they represent the same house" (CCFCS: B-F-55.4). C.V. Smith purchased five carved birds that may have belonged to Nekt.

29 Mask (VII.C.1123)
The mask "Gapligihanaq" (Only Common Woman) is from the house of Nekt. Carved in Gitwangak by a Nisgha man, Laxwalamawt (In Place of Safety) of the Gitxadin Wolf phratry, ca. 1912. Purchased from Jim Laganitz. Height, 33 cm; width, 22 cm. (Barbeau 1924. National Museums of Canada, 73-1992.)

30 Headdress (VII.C.1124)
The eagle headdress (Skikgamgawt), a *naxnox*, was used during *halait* festivals. "Carved long ago by whom it is not known," it was the property of the house of Tewalas, Eagle phratry, Gitwangak. The lower jaw of the carving is made of cedar, the rest is of alder. Purchased from Silas Brown (Nekt), Gitwangak. In Figure 7 Brown is shown wearing the headdress. Length, 21 cm; width, 22 cm; back cloth length, 94 cm. The cloth is flour sacking, is labelled "Marathon Brand," and bears the drawing of a runner. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 62608.)

31 Headdress (VII.C.1125)
Headdress of cedar bark, smaller than the one (VII.C.1173) illustrated in Figure 33. This headdress was used by Nekt when he attended all *halaits* other than his own; he used VII.C. 1173 at his own. Like Nekt's other *halait* headdress, it was dyed with alder, but more thoroughly. Its former owner was Niesgamala, the uncle of Jim Laganitz. Purchased from Jim Laganitz. Diameter, 23 cm; band width, 7 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 75-9349.)

Whistle (VII.C.1126)
A whistle *(hux)* represented the voice of the *halait* when the headdress (VII.C.1125) illustrated in Figure 31 was worn at the initiation of a *halait*. It is made of yellow cedar wrapped by spruce root. The former property of Niesgamala, it was purchased from Jim Laganitz. Length, 26.7 cm; depth, 5.5 cm. (Barbeau, 1924.)



32 Whistle (VII.C.1127)
This whistle, description as above, was also used when Nekt was a *halait*. The two whistles (VII.C.1126 and 1127) were blown alternately and were held in each hand. Purchased from Jim Laganitz. Length, 21.2 cm; width, 4.4 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-16960.)

33 Headdress (VII.C.1173)
The cedar headdress *(qakstumluc)* with abalone shell is worn by Silas Brown (Nekt). A *ulala* headdress, it was last used in 1921. One ring was added to represent each time the *halait* was given, and Nekt had given three. This headdress was made by Haxpagwawtu (Arthur McDames) of Gitsegukla. It was partially dyed with alder. Purchased from Silas Brown. Width, 12 cm; diameter, 25 cm. The cedar neck ring is illustrated and described in Figure 23. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 60606.)

34 Totem Figure (VII.C.1172)
The fragment of a totem pole represents the armour *(medik)* of Nekt (Tongue-licked). In the Nekt myth, he used the *gwismedik*, garment of the grizzly bear. The pole was carved by Yaxyaq of Kitwancool. The owner saw it erected at the time he got married. It was placed before Hlengwah's house "four years ago" (ca. 1920) and for that occasion he invited many people, including the Nisgha. The piece in the National Museum collection is the base of the pole; the top figure was Maxkyawl (Whole-Being) in the form of a person; Giludal was also on the pole, as were Ganaumget (Fog-Person) and *ganao* (frog).

> The section of the old pole of Naeqt ... was cut out of the complete pole after it had fallen, many years ago. A feast was given on that occasion, and the present owner [Jim Laganitz -- Hlengwah] stood on top of the figure of Naeqt as he "made himself a chief *(o'yerh)*" and assumed the name of Larahnitz (Barbeau 1973b: 54).

(See MacDonald 1984.) This is the most difficult item of Gitwangak material culture to place chronologically; it certainly could date to 1850. Height, 172 cm; base diameter, 57 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada.)

35 Bird Carvings (VII.C.1212)
Five birds carved from grizzly-bear teeth were attached to a bear robe which belonged to a Gitwangak chief, possibly Nekt. The bear robe was larger than the ordinary medicine man's robe. Each carving is approximately 7.5 cm by 2.5 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 72-16596.)

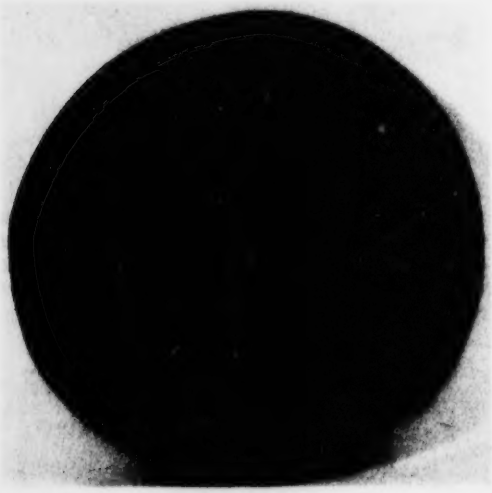
House of Leit
Frog-Raven Phratry

Ten specimens were purchased from Chief Leit (Snake), Salomon Harris, of the Frog-Raven phratry. Although Leit ranked below Hlengwah, he had a number of houses under him, including the houses of Lulaq and Haku.

36 Mask (VII.C.1111)
The mask "Ksamstikin" (Woman of Stikine [*tsatsaot*]) represents a *naxnox* of the house of Wudahayets of Kitwancool. It was probably made by a Nisgha "quite a long time ago." Height 22.5 cm; width, 16.2 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 73-1981.)

37 Whistle (VII.C.1112)
A *naxnox* whistle made "some time ago" was originally longer than it is now. The flared end was cut to fit into a box. Length, 56 cm; width of flared end, 11 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-17084.)

38 Snake Replica (VII.C.1113)
The snake ("lelt," also the proper name of the owner) represented a *naxnox*. Made of cedar, it had nailhead eyes surrounded by yellow beads, and a strip of flexible steel underneath its body was held in place by thongs. It formerly had a covering representing a snake. It was carved by Mengemgan, of the house of Guxsan, Gitsegukla, ca. 1904. Lelt used it in a ceremony dramatizing the name. Length, 130 cm; width, 3 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 75-9714.)



39 Drum (VII.C.1114)
Caribou-skin drum bearing a circle motif in shades of red. It was made ca. 1914 by Lelt and was used for *swanasu* (healing) work by Lelt himself. Diameter, 45.4 cm; rim, 6.5 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 75-9321.)

Spindle Whorl (VII.C.1115)
A spindle whorl *(halal)* used for spinning was "made by Lelt long ago." It could be of an earlier date than the fish trap that Lelt made ca. 1884 (see description, Fig. 43). It had a maple whorl and a cedar shaft. Length, 60 cm. (Barbeau, 1924.)

40 Cane (VII.C.1178)
The snake cane (Gadamlelt) was made to illustrate its owner's name, Lelt (Snake). Abalone inlay eyes appear on the frog and snake, and both animals are painted green. The raven motif at the head of the cane was from the house of Haimas, chief of the Gitsees, Lelt having been given the privilege of using this special raven, Gagamlop (Stone Raven), through a compensation. At one time a member of the Lelt house died while at the Nass River. Haimas had adopted the man into his house, so Haimas made all the burial arrangements, being compensated later by Lelt, for which Haimas in turn gave the Lelt house the right to use his special crest Gagamlop. The crabapplewood cane was carved ca. 1917 by Yawtnao, a Haida man from Masset. (See Figs. 8, 9.) Length, 60 cm; head, 12 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 75-9773.)

Rattle (VII.C.1201)
A large, bird-like rattle. It was given in an exchange to the National Museum of Denmark in 1928. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

41 Rattle (VII.C.1226)
A small rattle carved with a frog pattern. Length, 18 cm; width, 5 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 72-17024.)

42 Ladle (VII.C.1233)
A plain cow-horn ladle. Length, 31 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 72-17261.)

43 Fish Trap (VII.C.1100)

A wicker fish trap *(mawt)* similar to the one illustrated here was made by Leit ca. 1888, about the time when Kitwinkul Jim was killed.

> The traps were used in this manner. A weir was constructed from each bank and piles were driven in the water, upon which planks were placed to enable one to walk out to the set. This was in the form of a fence. Then this trap was sunken down, between two sets of piles, two in front and two in the rear on each side. A rope was attached to lift the trap to the trap flooring. The basket was sunk about five feet below the surface when placed deeper, a wicker fence was placed on top of the trap to prevent the salmon from going over the trap. The mouth of the basket always faced down stream. When the basket was filled it would be lifted by ropes attached to toggles on top of the trap. These traps were always placed at the edge of a current and never in a current. The trap is made of spruce roots and bound together with cedar bark set between the poles of the trap. The Gitwuntkul traps are different from this, as their traps are built for shallow water and this trap ... was built for deep water. In keeping the trap submerged, a pronged stick held it under against the current and another leading straight down while projections on each side held it in place, by twin poles. The trap was usually lifted three times a day, morning, noon and night. The smaller traps had a capacity for thirty sockeyes. They were used for all kinds of salmon but especially for sockeyes. The trap was used on a little river two miles from Kitwanga, on the Gitwuntkul River.

Mouth diameter, 109 cm; height of broken trap, 81 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, photo by G. MacDonald.)

Barbeau purchased 17 specimens from Isaac Benson of the house of Lulaq in 1923 and 1924. Isaac Benson's uncle was Lulaq, from whom he inherited the title.

Lulaq (Corpse of Ghost) is a chief's name in the house of Lelt, Frog-Raven phratry. Lulaq used the same pole and crest as Lelt. "If the new Luluq wants to build a totem pole he will come to Lelt and ask him first and Lelt will tell him what to do" (CCFCS: B-F-55.4). The house of Lulaq does not date back to the Taawdzep days, as the fort was abandoned about 1880 and the first Lulaq was approximately 1880, but it is included here because it is a sub-house of Lelt.

Whistle (VII.C.1048)
A flat, flaring whistle made of yellow cedar and string wrapped; "naxnoxawm halait" ("supernatural halait," a secret society). It was made by Lulaq ca. 1917. Length, 18 cm; flare diameter, 3.5 cm. (Barbeau, 1923.)

Whistles (VII.C.1049 and 1050)
Two small, cedar, double-barrelled whistles, "naxnoxawm gamita" ("supernatural gamita," *gamita* being one of the secret societies). Made "long ago," they belonged to the first Lulaq. VII.C.1049: length, 12 cm; width, 3.5 cm. VII.C.1050: length, 13 cm; width, 4 cm. (Barbeau, 1923.)

44 Mask (VII.C.1060)
"Lulaq" means "Corpse of Ghost" and is expressed in two *naxnox* masks, this one and the following one (VII.C.1066, Fig. 45). This one is made of maple, and string covers the teeth and leather strips close the mouth. It is described as "much older" than the other mask of Lulaq, which could put it to a date of about 1875. Length, 23 cm; width, 15.5 cm; depth, 9.6 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-3574.)

45 Mask (VII.C.1066)
The second *naxnox* mask of Lulaq (Corpse of Ghost), the chief of the house. The performer wearing the mask went around the house and all those who faced the mask fell down and twisted around. "The others gave him something to drink and he recovered" (see also VII.C.1060, Fig. 44). The song connnected with it is forgotten. "Very old mask.... Made about 40 years ago or perhaps only 35," that is, ca. 1883–88. It is made of red cedar, but the carver is unknown. Height, 21 cm; width, 25 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 102123.)

46 Mask (VII.C.1062)
A mask named "Wihaladam sewato" ("Big chief halait sewato," "sewato" being a Haida name) represents a Haida, "a big medicine man." On top of the mask head there once was a rattle which swung around the head, but now the only sign of the rattle attachment is a small nail hole. Carved by Albert Williams of Gitwangak ca. 1917, it belonged to the house of Lulaq. Height, 28.5 cm; width, 8.5 cm; depth, 11.5 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-5445.)

47 Mask (VII.C.1063)
A *naxnox* mask belonging to the house of Lulaq was named "Luzon" (a Frenchman's name) and represents the face of a white man of that name. Possibly this person could be identified in local records. The mask was carved ca. 1885. Height, 27 cm; width, 18.5 cm; depth, 7.6 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-6019.)

48 Mask (VII.C.1064)
A mask named "Hagawhlamanawn" (He Uses his Hands to Cut With) was connected to a cedar-bark cloth which the performer wore on his back. While dancing in the feast house with the mask, the dancer held a large wooden knife (VII.C.1067, Fig. 49) and, going toward the chiefs, he pretended to cut them with the knife. He later paid them for the "injury." The cottonwood mask was made by Albert Williams, Nisyalexs, Wolf phratry, Gitwangak. It was used in the winter potlatch of 1918. Height, 35 cm; width, 29 cm; depth, 16.5 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-16867.)

49 Knife (VII.C.1067)
Ceremonial knife ("hagawt," cutting) associated with mask VII.C.1064. Made of yellow cedar, the blade was painted with "white man's paint." Length, 48.5 cm; width, 12 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 75-9822.)

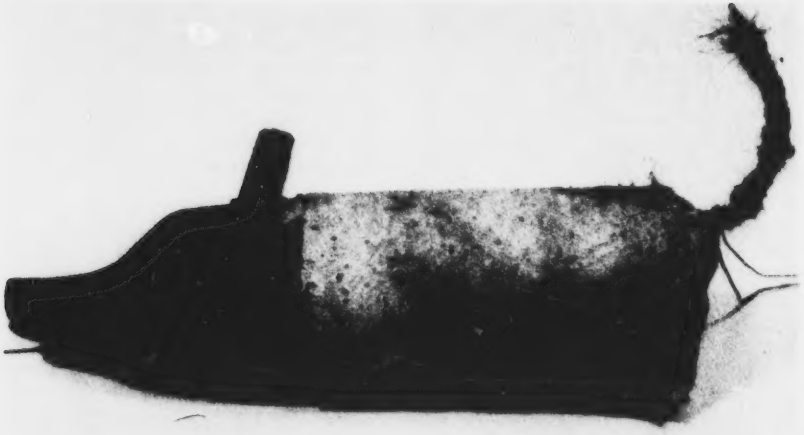
50 Neck Rings (VII.C.1070 and 1071)
Cedar-bark neck ring *(luix)* for the Gamita Society. When the *halait* came back after his four days away, "in the air," he had such a ring around his neck. He appeared before the people and the chief *halait* came to him, took his *luix* from his neck, and shook it over the fire. Then he put it back around the neck of the returned man. "This is called malktɔks" (burning the *luix*). The ring was made by Hlawts of Gitwangak "over 30 years ago," that is, sometime before 1893. "The cedar bark is not dried in this case"; fresh cedar boughs marked the house that was hosting the *halait* ceremony. Two rings were purchased, but one (VII.C.1071) is now missing. Diameter, 33 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 75-9337.)

51 Club (VII.C.1073)
A cedar club worked with red paint was part of the Gamita (Dancer) Society outfit. "The young halait" brought the club with him into the feast house. He would hit the door posts with the club before entering, and when he saw "a good thing" in the house, he would hit it, paying for it afterward. The club belonged to and was used by the first Lulaq, who died "about 40 years ago. Club older," which would make it date to 1883 or earlier. Length, 84.5 cm; width, 10 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 75-8852.)

52 Mask (VII.C.1075)
A *naxnox* mask named "Wiqaqt" (Rat). The name belongs to the house of Lulaq. The rat performer came out at the back of the feast house along with its young ones ("tkitqaqt," offspring of rat [VII.C.1076, 1077 and 1078, Figs. 53-55]). The performer crawled toward the the fire; the small ones "followed and walked about the fire," pulled along with strings. The song associated with this is now forgotten. The mask and offspring, made by Kexu, from Gitlaxdamks on the Nass River, were made "before owner's time, about 45 years ago," which would put them to an 1878 date. Length, 52.5 cm; width including ears, 31 cm; height, 33 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-4173.)

53 Naxnox Device (VII.C.1076)
The offspring of the rat, associated with the rat mask (VII.C.1075, Fig. 52), are all connected by twine. Length, 26 cm; tail, 14 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 75-9308.)

54 Namax Device (VII.C.1077)
Offspring of rat. Length, 22 cm; tail, 10 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 75-9045.)



55 Namax Device (VII.C.1078)
Offspring of rat. Length, 24 cm; tail, 10 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 75-9307.)

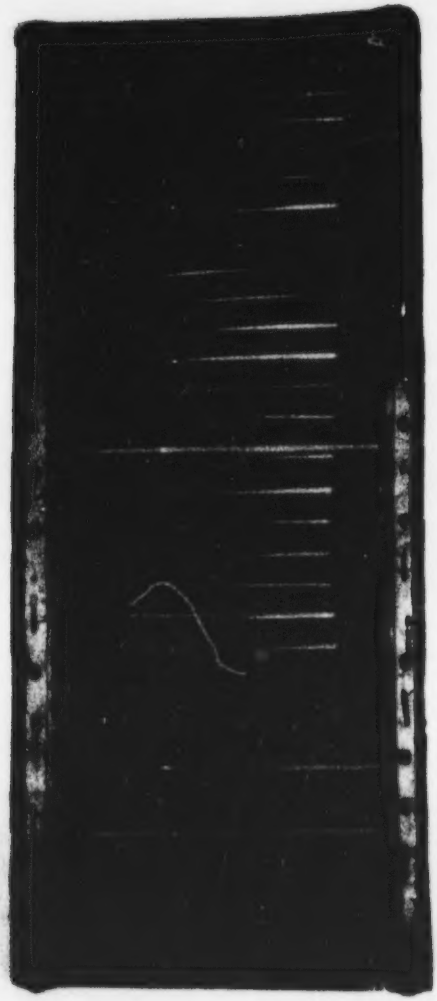
56 Hat (VII.C.1097)
A frog hat (Gaidamganao) topped by a large quartz crystal *(txwa)* represents a *naxnox* belonging to Taxtsux. The crystal is said to have been snared by Kwamen on Kwusagat Mountain, his hunting ground. The snare was made of thongs from the hide of a mountain goat. When Kwamen sighted the snare he saw a large goat hanging in it, and then the goat was changed into the crystal. "This happened long ago." The carver of the frog hat was Sigwi, Isaac Tens, of Hazelton. Before the hat was carved in 1918, the crystal was held in the hand when it was displayed. Hat length, 25.2 cm; hat height, 16.4 cm; crystal length, 15.3 cm; crystal width, 5.7 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada.)

House of Haku
Frog-Raven Phratry

Five of the six specimens from the house of Haku, a sub-chief of Leit, Frog-Raven phratry, were purchased from Sarah Harris, Sigitmuks, a sister of Haku. The sixth specimen was purchased from Maggie Wells of the Eagle phratry.

57 Whistle (VII.C.1051)
A double whistle *(naxnoxawm gamita)*. Made of string-wrapped red cedar, it has three holes in the flared end and two holes, with wood flappers, in the mouth end. "Very old." Purchased from Sarah Harris. Length, 25.5 cm; width of flared end, 8 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 80-592.)

58 Whistle (VII.C.1052)
Whistle *(naxnoxawm halait)* with twine wrapping and pitch on the seams. It was also described as "very old." Purchased from Sarah Harris. Length, 46 cm; width of flared end, 8 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-17083.)



59 Loom (VII.C.1079)
A loom *(gandzap)* for making pack straps was made ca. 1893 by Kwawdzebax, of the house of Halaist. The perpendicular part is made of yew wood *(hakutok)*; the horizontal parts are of cottonwood bark. Purchased from Sarah Harris, house of Haku. Length, 46 cm; width, 19 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 34190.)

Mask Part (VII.C.1161)
On top of a Gitkins mask was a small eagle earring, a *naxnox* of the house of Haku. It was made by Tewalas ca. 1894. Purchased from Maggie Wells of the house of Sqayen, Eagle phratry. No dimensions available. (Barbeau, 1924.)

60 Basket (VII.C.1087)
Berry-picking basket used on the mountains. This type of basket is known as "iyosult"; "tsəlɛ is term for basket." The warp is red cedar bark and the weft is spruce root. It was made in 1913 by Mary Wisum, Hayets (Copper). Purchased from Sarah Harris, house of Haku. Height, 15 cm; diameter, 24 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 80-593.)

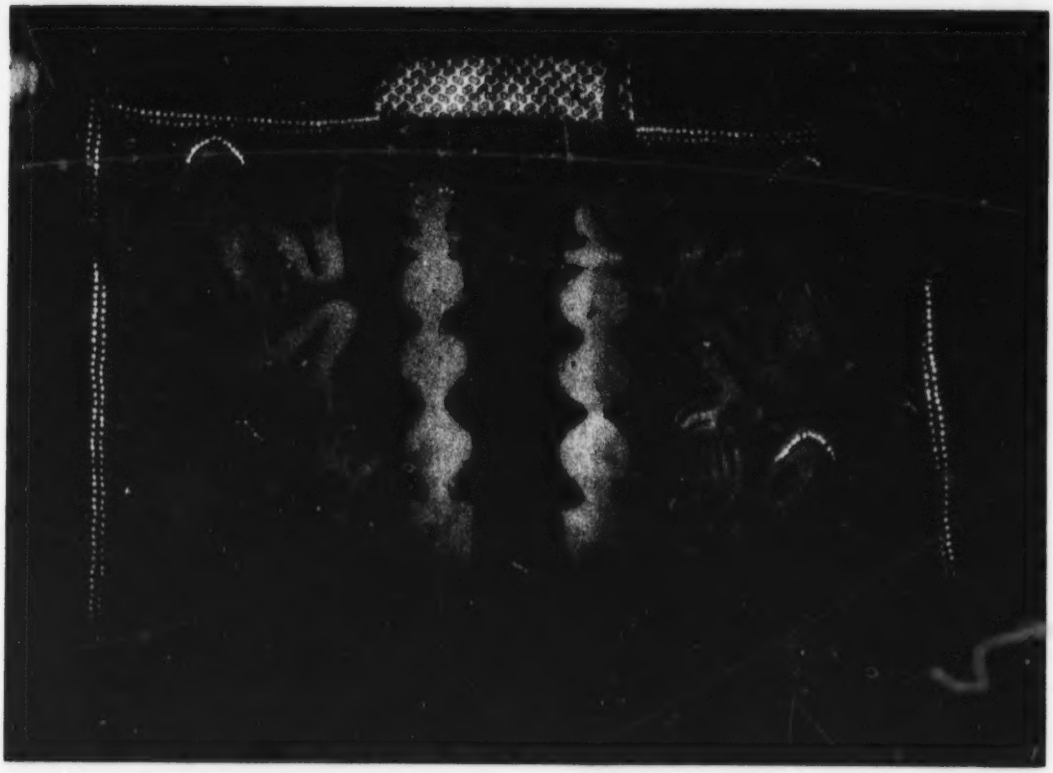
61 Blanket (VII.C.1105)

A decorated blanket (Lugigedamhayets) from the house of Haku. The pattern represents the name, People of the Copper Shield. Haku wore the robe upon the assumption of that name in a *yeok*, and also at other festivals when he was invited abroad.

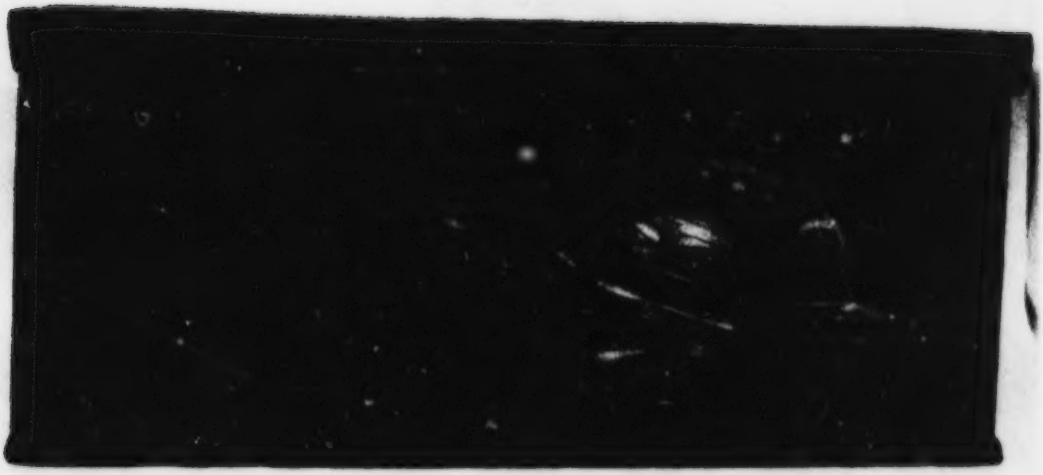
> On dancing blankets, worn only on major ceremonial occasions, crests publicly stated a House's stock of powers and the fact that they were given life by its members. [*Yeok*] has a second meaning, to put on, again referring to the naxnox assuming a particular external appearance. Humans similarly put on that outer form, thereby equating themselves with the supernatural donors of power (Cove 1982: 9).

A myth explains the blanket's design. It belonged to Haku exclusively and the name "is used by no one now." The maker is not known. Purchased from Sarah Harris, Gamawksauuc. In Gitwangak Village a totem pole called "Man-in-the-Copper-Shield" commemorates a former Haku. It stood slightly over 50 years (Barbeau 1973b: 47; see also MacDonald 1984). Length, 155 cm; width, 124 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 80-565.)

House Unknown
Frog-Raven Phratry



62 Blanket (VII.C.1185)
The frog blanket from Gitwangak belonged to "old Joshua, a relative of Arthur Nelson." "Old Joshua" may refer to Joshua Ridley of Gitwangak, who was probably of the Frog-Raven phratry. Purchased from Tom Campbell of Hazelton. Width, 184 cm; length, 132 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 71-6289.)



63 Box (VII.C.1183)
C.V. Smith's notes state that, according to the Hazelton Indians, the carved box bears a grizzly-bear clan crest. A fragment of a newspaper inside the box read "San Francisco, October 4, 1872." Barbeau differed from Smith in his description of the chest (1930: 135): the incisors characterize this crest and represent the *spatsemolth* (beaver), a family emblem of some Eagle clans. The clenched fists (lower front) are typical of beaver figures. Barbeau added that while the box belonged to the Gitksan on the upper Skeena, it had been carved on the Nass River "about 50 or 60 years ago," that is, ca. 1870-80. Purchased from Charlie Williams, Frog-Raven phratry, Gitwangak. Length, 140 cm; width, 61 cm; height, 153 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 317129-14.)

64 Mask (VII.C.1188)
This mosquito mask was featured in the *Loon's Necklace* film of 1950. Barbeau documented it in the field as representing the *semik* (Halpin 1973: 247). Purchased from Charles Williams, Frog-Raven phratry, Gitwangak. Face, 23 cm high by 18 cm wide; beak, 36 cm long. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 72-4164.)

Semedik (Real Grizzly Bear) was head chief of the Eagle phratry at Gitwangak at the time the purchases of 15 items of material culture were made by Barbeau in 1924, C.V. Smith before 1925, and H.I. Smith in 1926.

65 Rattle (VII.C.1116)
One of a pair of circular rattles ("has ɛ'x and hawidzis is the name of this type"). The artist Langdon Kihn purchased its mate (see Figure 10, Kihn's painting of Semedik holding the rattle the artist purchased). Both are plain on one side with an X design on the other side, and each has red and blue stripes on the outer ring. "To accompany the halait dance. Very old, made before the white man came, pebbles inside. Semedik says that [they] are 'about a thousand years old' came down on his mother's side."

> When [Hanamuk of Gitsegukla, wife of Kitwinkul Jim] was a girl she lost her sight and also the use of one of her feet. This was at the time of her marriage to gamnaxw Imux "My husband then called in all the halaits (medicine men) from all the neighbouring villages and when these came in the chief halait then said 'You are haunted by a song'. My husband then had the crown headdress (VII.C.1152) made and also the owl rattle (VII.C. 1151). (Hanamuk paid a gold watch and chain for the carving 30 years ago). These were made by Mali and when these were all made, all the halait ... of Kitwanga and Gitzegukla were gathered together at Kitwankul. Then the main performer or master of ceremonies, came to me and placed the claw headdress on my head and the owl rattle in my hand. I was then picked up by this halait and walked around the house in the direction of the path of the sun. I was taken twice around the house and then placed in the centre of the home. Then the swanasu placed the rattle in my hand. I was able to see a little and was able to walk with my own strength. I then took the rattle and sang the song that the medicine man said was the cause of my illness. When I sang this song (the marten song) all of the halait men repeated the song after me. Then I walked around the house again in the direction of the sun and then fell on the floor unconscious and when I recovered consciousness I got quite well again. My husband then distributed much wealth in food and in luixs (cedar collars) and in blankets, each of the halait receiving gifts in keeping with his rank. These halaits then came during the year and gave me their services when I was sick". (CANES: VII.C.1152).

Purchased from Semedik, Gitwangak. Diameter, 16 cm; width of inner and outer rings, 2.5 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-16973.)

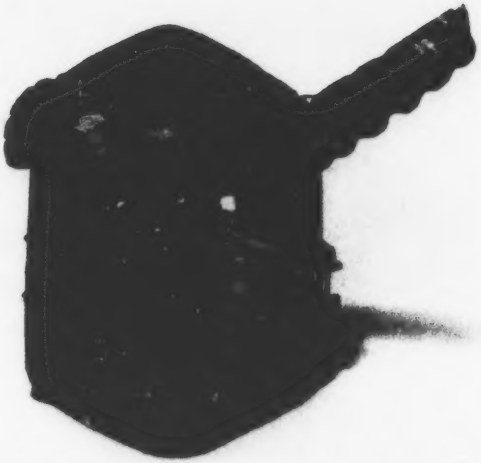
66 Mask and Hands (VII.C.1347)
A large mask with two hands is called "Luginahaet." The term is a Tsimshian word used by the Gitksans of Gitwangak and is a name of a man or woman in Chief Qawq's family who is "high up in rank" to Qawq. The name means "standing alone in the house," that is, all others have gone out and he or she is alone. The mask and hands representing that person were worn by someone else, usually a younger person hired for the purpose, and only on special occasions. "In dramatizing this they would not announce the guests as they came in, but left the guests to make their own way. The performer would move these large hands of wood in the direction the guests were to sit, and then when he started to speak everyone would hurriedly leave the house, leaving him behind" (CCFCS: B-F-56.5). Purchased from Semedik. Mask length, 94 cm; mask width, 49 cm; hand lengths, 50 cm; hand widths, 18 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada, 72-10134.)

67 Mask (VII.C.1348)
A red-painted mask is called "Sestli," which is a doctor's name. Whoever was a great doctor received the name, and the mask was worn by him or a hired relative. Purchased from Semedik. Length, 23.7 cm; width, 17 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada, 73-2505.)

Spoon (VII.C.1251)
A carved horn spoon. The lower part is made of cow horn; the handle is carved from mountain-goat horn, possibly with an eagle design. Purchased from Semedik. Handle length, 17.3 cm; bowl length, 13.3 cm; bowl width, 5.6 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925).

Spoon (VII.C.1252)
A plain horn spoon with a handle of mountain-goat horn. It was sent to the Danish National Museum in 1928. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

68 Mask (VII.C.1349)
Eagle mask worn at potlatches. The performer -- only Semedik or his successor wore it -- walked around in the crowd and clawed everyone he passed. Each clawed person received "some present free, more than others." If no feast was given at the performance, no return gift was expected. If a feast was given, Semedik received a present in return at a later feast given by the clawed person. It is "Semedick's own mask," which he inherited. It is not the one in Kihn's picture (Fig. 10), but "as made before." His predecessor owned it or one like it. Purchased from Semedik. Length, 47 cm; width, 17 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada, 59746.)



69 Mask (VII.C.1350)
A mask called "Hishanoks" (Bad-tempered Woman). The headband opened out. The dancer acted somewhat like the eagle (VII.C.1349, see Fig. 68), that is, she lightly slapped chiefs on the sides of their heads. Although everyone at the performance received a present, the people she slapped received larger presents than the others. After that she danced before them. The mask was inherited, and was nearly always worn by a hired person. Length, 24.5 cm; width, 19 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada, 72-4342.)

70 Mask (VII.C.1351)
A big-lipped mask called "Latsel" (Two Faces). One of the two faces was lost before the mask was bought by Smith. "This is the way they came to have it. It was seen on a lake by one of the men of this household. Something unknown came out of the water with two faces in front of where the man sat. When they have a potlatch they bring it out." The audience did not know which was the dancer's front as he was enveloped in a bearskin and his feet were disguised so no one could tell his toes from his heels. Worn by a hired man, the mask was only used on special occasions. "Barbeau did not get the story of this." There was a special song with it. Height, 23.5 cm; width, 21 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada, 73-2447.)

71 Neck Ring (VII.C.1352)
A neck ring of 15 articulated wooden blocks with one leather thong inside and another thong outside the ring. It was once covered with red cedar bark dyed red with alder bark; the wood would not show. Where the two ends hooked together was a sharp iron that the man, named Algumlo clam, who was hired to wear it at potlatches stuck into every chief he came to. Each one stuck by the iron received a special present. Ring diameter, 44 cm; exterior circumference of ring, 130 cm; each faceted block, 4 cm in diameter. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada, 75-9618.)

72 Potlatch Devices (VII.C.1353a/b)
The ground hogs were only used at potlatches. They ran around -- pulled with strings -- during a song and when the song was finished, they went into a hole underground. Their faces were painted pale blue, their eyes were black, and their mouths and nostrils were red. a: length, 54 cm; width, 14 cm; wooden support, 64 cm. b (unillustrated): length, 59 cm; width, 14 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada, 72-10146.)

73 Box (VII.C.1354)
A square box called "Xseehaft" (Thick Cover). (The cover is now missing.) It was reported to have been made by Tsimshians of the coast. There are exceptionally fine paintings on the front (Fig. 74) and back (this figure) of the box. The design was said to represent a man, but it uses a format applied to supernatural river beings. A crab design appears on one side (see Fig. 75). Height, 59 cm; side widths, 45 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1926. National Museums of Canada.)

74 Front of box (VII.C.1354)
(National Museums of Canada.)

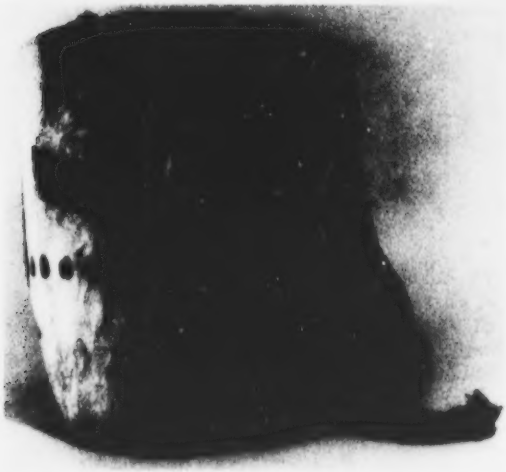
75 Side of box (VII.C.1354)
One side of the box bears a crab design, the other side is plain. The crab was the crest of the renegade Chief Haimas of the Gitsees tribe. (National Museums of Canada.)

Mat (VII.C.1355)
Mat in which soapolallie berries were gathered. It was sent in an exchange to the National Museum of Denmark in 1928. (H.I. Smith, 1926.)

House of Sqayen
Eagle Phratry

Sqayen is the name of a chief of a house under the Eagle chief, Semedik. Maggie Wells of the house of Sqayen sold 11 pieces to Barbeau in 1924.

76 Mask (VII.C.1157)
A *naxnox* mask (Kuxmitawnirens) of the house of Sqayen. The performer wearing the mask walked in front of the chiefs, appearing to envy them. Their food and gifts would then be given to him, and he would compensate any who gave him gifts. The mask was "over 53 years old" in 1924 and was last used "about 35 years ago" by the owner's mother; it would date to 1871, according to the data. It was made by a member of the house of Ksegen-ilaxaw, Gitsegukla. Length, 50 cm; width, 21 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 73-1996.)



77 Mask (VII.C.1158)
A large *naxnox* mask (Sqayen). The performer, who looked out through eyeholes on either side of the nose, came from the rear of the house and as he moved about, a small figure in a canoe over his mask would make the motions of paddling and the canoe would revolve (see VII.C.1159, Fig. 78). It was carved by Joshua Ridley, Mengemgan, of the house of Guxsan, Fireweed phratry, Gitsegukla, ca. 1913. Height, 34 cm; width, 29.5 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-5405.)

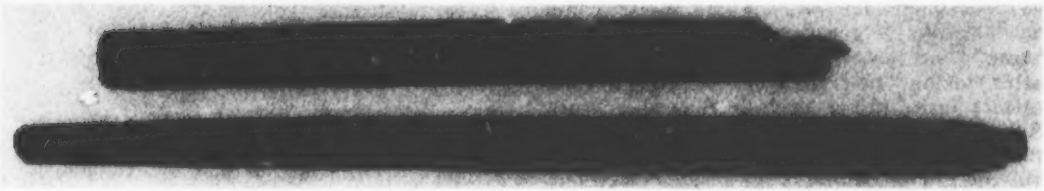
78 Canoe and Doll (VII.C.1159)
Part of mask VII.C.1158 (Fig. 77) is the *mal-naxnox* (canoe of spirit). The canoe referred to the myth of Sqayen. When at one time a war party went to the seacoast to raid the coast people, upon the return of the warriors the small canoe was shown as the canoe used and in the canoe was the figure of a man which represented the warriors' leader. The canoe was carved by a Tsimshian and the small figure was carved by Ksogomlaxs of Gitsegukla. "Made long ago." One of the paddler's arms is now missing. Paddler height, 28 cm; paddler base length, 14 cm; paddler base width, 10 cm; canoe length, 32 cm; canoe width, 10 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 80-2307.)

79 *Naxnox* Device (VII.C.1160)
Part of Txagexsumskik (Whole Eagle). The mask was made to dramatize the name "Txawgat" (Making Captive). Whole Eagle came down among the guests from the rafters of the house, went to where Txawgat was sitting and, after taking him captive, went up into the rafters again, It was made by Hagasu, a Frog-Raven of Gitsegukla, ca. 1884. It is similar to the mask (VII.C.1074) illustrated in Figure 17, but the dramatization of this device is different. Bird length, 25 cm; stick length, 45 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-2916.)

80 Mask (VII.C.1162)
The mask "Ksom wulanskiskit (Woman who Foretells) represents a *naxnox* of the house of Sqayen. In dramatizing it, the performer appeared as a woman. Upon entering the house she would predict some coming disaster. The mask was carved ca. 1913 by Mengemgan, a Fireweed of Gitsegukla. Height, 23 cm; width, 13.8 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-4197.)

81 Mask (VII.C.1163)
A small *naxnox* mask, "Tsak" (Extinguish [Fire]). The performer would enter the feast house, go to the fire, and extinguish it. After the house had been in darkness for a while, he would take out a fire drill and hearth (VII.C. 1164a/b, Fig. 82) and make another fire. The mask was carved by Mengemgam in 1913. Height, 20 cm; width, 12 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-4347.)

82 Fire Drill and Hearth (VII.C.1164a/b)
Fire drill *(kinano)* and hearth. The name of the whole outfit is "Halaqamt" (To Use Stick). It is associated with mask VII.C.1163 (Fig. 81). Both sticks are red cedar and were made by Nagemwilgoks, Gitlaxdamks, Nass River. Hearth length, 38 cm. Two holes and one burn hole. Drill length, 44 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 80-2308.)



83 Mask (VII.C.1165)
An "older" Tsak mask. Its dramatization was the same as that of the later version (see VII.C.1163, Fig. 81). The mask was made by Nagemwilgoks, Gitlaxdamks, Nass River, "about 40 years ago," (about 1884). Length, 19 cm; width, 15 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 72-5433.)

***Naxnox* Device (VII.C.1166)**
A fan-like device which opened with strings formed part of a *naxnox* outfit. It was carved "about 30 years ago" (about 1894) by Waw of the house of Qawq, Eagle phratry, Gitwangak. (Barbeau, 1924.)

House of Gilawaw
Eagle Phratry

The house of Gilawaw of the Eagle phratry is represented by one mask purchased from Sarah Harris. Gilawaw, a sub-chief under Semedik, was her father.

84 Mask (VII.C.1053)
A mask with sliding cloth strips belonged to Gilawaw. It was made by Albert Williams in 1917. Purchased from Sarah Harris, Sigitmuks, house of Haku; Gilawaw was her father. Length, 22 cm; width, 19 cm; depth, 12 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 73-2476.)

House of Axti
Wolf Phratry

Only one Wolf phratry specimen can be attributed to a specific house, that of Axti. Barbeau noted that the name of Axti had moved into prominence only recently (1973b: 129). Historically, "the Wolf houses in Kitwanga are all of the same group. They were at the fortress, but after living on Ta'awdzep there were two subdivisions -- 1) Tets, 2) Tenemget. The names and crests were all the same" (CCFCS: B-F-32.2).

Spindle Whorl (VII.C.1129)
Red cedar spindle *(halal)* with mountain-goat wool *(limigiant)*. It was made by Paul Derrick and purchased from Martha Derrick, Xpisunt, of the house of Axti. Length, 48.9 cm. (Barbeau, 1924.)

House Unknown
Wolf Phratry

The Wolf phratry of Gitwangak is also represented by three specimens from unknown houses.

85 Mask (VII.C.1168)
A *naxnox* mask with a star-like red design on each cheek was said to have belonged to Kitwinkul Jim, Wolf phratry. In 1921 it was sold to an art dealer by John Laganitz, the son of Jim Laganitz, of Gitwangak. Height, 20 cm; width, 17 cm. (Barbeau, 1929. National Museums of Canada, 73-2477.)

86 Headdress (VII.C.1196)
Wolf headdress with abalone-shell inlay. Obtained from Robert Williams, Wolf phratry, Gitwangak. Length, 26 cm; width, 15 cm; height, 18 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 72-3592.)

87 Hat (VII.C.1239)
Unpainted spruce-root hat, "from an old woman in Kitwangɛ mother of Johnny Lagaxnits, likely to have been made by her." John Laganitz was the son of Jim Laganitz, who was about 70 at the time of the museum collection. It seems probable that the owner of the hat was Jim's wife, of comparable age to Jim, and that could put the hat's manufacture back to 1875. Height, 17.5 cm; crown diameter, 10.9 cm; rim diameter, 35.3 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, 79-7200.)

House Unknown
Phratry Unknown

88 Bow (VII.C.1072)
A child's bow. It was bought from a boy, Alfred Sinclair's son, when he was playing with it along the river. At the time of collection, Alfred Sinclair was Axgawt, chief of that house of the Frog-Raven phratry. The phratry of the boy's mother is unknown. Length, 117 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 75-9199.)

89 Pack Strap (VII.C.1080)
One of four pack straps from Peter Stafford, Gitwangak (the others, not illustrated, are VII.C.1081, 1082 and 1083). See also the dance apron (VII.C.1133) in Figure 21. The pack strap was made by Mary Williams, Tox, of the house of Haxpagwawtu, Fireweed phratry. The strap was made "last winter" (1922). Length, 381.5 cm; width, 5.6 cm. (Barbeau, 1923. National Museums of Canada, 72-10228.)

90 Drum (VII.C.1142)
A red cedar box drum *(anut)* used in *halait* dances was suspended from the top of the house. The drum is "from Kitwanga about 30 years ago," that is, about 1894. It was made by Wudahayets of Kitwancool. In the house of Semedik there are two accounts of box drums in use. "Before the time Qoq gave a feast to his people he beat that wooden drum outside his house and the people heard the drum and they made ready for the feast" (CCFCS: B-F-56.9). The second account was of an old woman going up a ladder to beat the box drum on a totem pole at the death of a chief (CCFCS: B-F-56). Length, 88 cm; width, 29.4 cm; height, 61 cm. (Barbeau, 1924. National Museums of Canada, 73-7805.)

Rattles (VII.C.1206, 1207)
Globular rattles. 1206: total length, 33.2 cm; circumference of head, 42 cm; length of handle, 10.8 cm; circumference of handle, 7.6 cm. 1207: total length, 29.5 cm; circumference of head, 37.2 cm; length of handle, 10.8 cm; circumference of handle, 7.6 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

Charm (VII.C.1209)
Shaman's charm of carved bone with abalone nostril. "Carving represents lagawos." Length, 16.1 cm; circumference at centre, 9 cm; width at each end, 3.1 cm; cord length, 60 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

Charm (VII.C.1210a-c)
Shaman's bone charm. It was roughly carved and two bone tubes are attached to it. "From old Kitwanga woman." Charm length, 11.7 cm; circumference at centre, 6.6 cm; width at each end, 2.1 cm; tube b length, 8.4 cm; tube b width, 8.2 cm; tube c length, 8.3 cm; tube c width 1.3 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

Knife (VII.C.1217)
Bone knife with line drawings. It was given in an exchange to the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, in 1928. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

Handle? (VII.C.1218)
A cone-like object that may be a handle is carved like a bird's beak. The material is black mountain-goat horn. Length, 11.6 cm; maximum width, 4.4 cm; minimum width, 3.9 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

Knife (VII.C.1222)
A design of a human face has been carved on the wooden handle of the knife. Length, 21.5 cm; circumference of handle, 6 cm; maximum width of blade, 0.9 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

91 Dentalium (VII.C.1266)
Shell money; a string of dentalium shells purchased in Gitwangak. Length, 42 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925. National Museums of Canada, photo by G. MacDonald.)

Adze (VII.C.1267)
Steel-bladed adze. Handle length, 41 cm; head length, 22.9 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

Spindle Whorl (VII.C.1268a, b)
Spindle whorl from an "old Kitwanga woman." Length, 68 cm; whorl is unusually thick, 1.9 cm. (C.V. Smith, pre-1925.)

Spoon (VII.C.1345)
Wooden spoon, stained from use. Length, 23.1 cm; width, 5.6 cm. (H.I. Smith, 1925.)

92 Drum
Box drum, the property of John Laganitz, drawn in colour by W. Langdon Kihn in 1924. Location of the drum and of the drawing are unknown. (By permission of Miss Phyllis Kihn; National Museums of Canada, 63224.)

Appendix A
Paintings of Gitwangak Subjects

W. Langdon Kihn

Below are listed eleven works done at Gitwangak by the American artist W. Langdon Kihn (1898-1957). Kihn accompanied Marius Barbeau to the Skeena River in the summer of 1924, producing 63 paintings and sketches from the trip. His portraits caught the people wearing and holding the objects that now seem bereft of their power on museum shelves. Photographic copies of his work were made for the National Museums in 1925 and the descriptions below are taken from the museum files. A block of 27 paintings were purchased from Kihn in 1927 by F.N. Southam of Montreal who donated them to various institutions across Canada. The others are now scattered across North America in museum and private collections.

"Hlengwah 'Earthquake' or Laranitc [sic], 'Looking to Both Sides,' Raven head chief of the Kitwanga tribe."

Original in the McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal (Acc. 1474); photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 62983; see Figure 3.

"Semedik 'Real Grizzly Bear,' the Eagle head chief of the Kitwanga tribe."

Original in the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary (R.806.3); photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 62988; see Figure 10.

"Gip-Lanao 'Small Frogs,' Lydia Wilson of Kitwanga, Wolf phratry."

Original in the Winnipeg Art Gallery (L-25); photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 62955.

"Guraklh 'Small Rat' or Johnny Larachnitz of the Wolf phratry, Kitwanga."

Original in the Vancouver Art Gallery; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 62998; see Figure 14.

"Weeha 'Big Storm,' Luke Fowler of Hazelton, Raven phratry, formerly Kitwanga."

Original in the Winnipeg Art Gallery (L-22); photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 63003.

"Lelt 'Snake,' [Salomon Harris] a chief of the Raven phratry in Kitwanga."

Original in the Vancouver Art Gallery; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 63028; see Figure 9.

"Ukslarhtao 'Out on Ice,' Florence Harris, Raven phratry, Kitwanga."

Location unknown; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 63031.

"Ahrawdem-Ku-Hlingit 'Thoughtless Little Slave Woman,' a man with a mask. Mask and name belong to the Eagle phratry of Kitwanga. Posed by Johnny Laranitz."

The documentation with the mask (CANES: VII.C.1177) states that it belongs to Kitwancool rather than Gitwangak. The portrait is missing from the Canadian Ethnology Service collection; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 63035.

"Mrs. Stephen Morgan, Tenamgex of Kitwanga."

Original in the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary (R.2363.149).

"Jake Fowler, Kitwanga."

Original in the Winnipeg Art Gallery (L-21); photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 63038.

"Colour drawing of a box drum, property of John Larachnitz."

Location unknown; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 63224; see Figure 92.

Edwin Holgate

Edwin Holgate (1892-1977), a Canadian artist, also did one portrait at Gitwangak in 1926. He, too, accompanied Dr. Barbeau who encouraged a number of young artists, including A.Y. Jackson and Anne Savage, to come to the West Coast to paint.

"Jim Larachnitz or Earthquake, the head chief of the Larshail phratry at Kitwanga. His headdress is the Gailladal-Thunderbird."

Location unknown; photo on file, National Museums of Canada, 68139; see Figure 4.

Appendix B
Gitwangak Material Culture Held by the Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, Ottawa

Specimen No.	Type	Description Location
VII.C.		
1048	Whistle	following Fig. 43
1049	Whistle	following Fig. 43
1050	Whistle	following Fig. 43
1051	Whistle	Fig. 57
1052	Whistle	Fig. 58
1053	Mask	Fig. 84
1056	Mask	Fig. 15
1057	Mask	Fig. 25
1058	Mask	Fig. 26
1059	Mask	Fig. 16
1060	Mask	Fig. 44
1062	Mask	Fig. 46
1063	Mask	Fig. 47
1064	Mask	Fig. 48
1066	Mask	Fig. 45
1067	Knife	Fig. 49
1068	Adze	Fig. 18
1070	Neck ring	Fig. 50
1071	Neck ring	see Fig. 50
1072	Bow	Fig. 88
1073	Club	Fig. 51
1074	Mask	Fig. 17
1075	Mask	Fig. 52
1076	*Naxnox* device	Fig. 53
1077	*Naxnox* device	Fig. 54
1078	*Naxnox* device	Fig. 55
1079	Loom	Fig. 59
1080	Pack strap	Fig. 89
1081	Pack strap	see Fig. 89
1082	Pack strap	see Fig. 89
1083	Pack strap	see Fig. 89
1087	Basket	Fig. 60
1096	Tray	Fig. 19
1097	Hat	Fig. 56
1105	Blanket	Fig. 61
1108	Spindle whorl	Fig. 20
1109	Pack strap	following Fig. 20
1110	Pack strap	following Fig. 20
1111	Mask	Fig. 36
1112	Whistle	Fig. 37
1113	Snake replica	Fig. 38
1114	Drum	Fig. 39
1115	Spindle whorl	following Fig. 39
1116	Rattle	Figs. 10, 65
1123	Mask	Fig. 29
1124	Headdress	Figs. 7, 30
1125	Headdress	Fig. 31
1126	Whistle	following Fig. 31
1127	Whistle	Fig. 32
1129	Spindle whorl	following Fig. 84
1133	Apron	Figs. 2, 21
1134	Mask	Fig. 27
1135	Mask	Fig. 28
1136	Mask	Fig. 22
1142	Drum	Fig. 90
1157	Mask	Fig. 76
1158	Mask	Fig. 77
1159	Canoe and doll	Fig. 78
1160	*Naxnox* device	Fig. 79
1161	Mask part	following Fig. 59
1162	Mask	Fig. 80
1163	Mask	Fig. 81
1164	Fire drill and hearth	Fig. 82
1165	Mask	Fig. 83
1166	*Naxnox* device	following Fig. 83
1168	Mask	Fig. 85
1172	Totem figure	Fig. 34
1173	Headdress	Fig. 33
1174	Neck ring	Fig. 23
1178	Cane	Figs. 8, 9, 40
1182	Doll	Fig. 24
1183	Box	Fig. 63
1185	Blanket	Fig. 62
1188	Mask	Fig. 64
1196	Headdress	Fig. 86
1201	Rattle	following Fig. 40
1206	Rattle	following Fig. 90
1207	Rattle	following Fig. 90
1209	Charm	following Fig. 90
1210	Charm	following Fig. 90
1212	Bird carvings	Fig. 35
1217	Knife	following Fig. 90
1218	Handle?	following Fig. 90
1222	Knife	following Fig. 90
1226	Rattle	Fig. 41
1239	Hat	Fig. 87
1251	Spoon	following Fig. 67
1252	Spoon	following Fig. 67
1253	Ladle	Fig. 42
1266	Dentalium	Fig. 91
1267	Adze	following Fig. 91

Specimen No.	Type	Description Location
VII.C.		
1268	Spindle whorl	following Fig. 91
1345	Spoon	following Fig. 91
1347	Mask and hands	Fig. 66
1348	Mask	Fig. 67
1349	Mask	Fig. 68
1350	Mask	Fig. 69
1351	Mask	Fig. 70
1352	Neck ring	Fig. 71
1353	Potlatch devices	Fig. 72
1354	Box	Figs. 73-75
1355	Mat	following Fig. 75
1100	Fish trap	Fig. 43

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